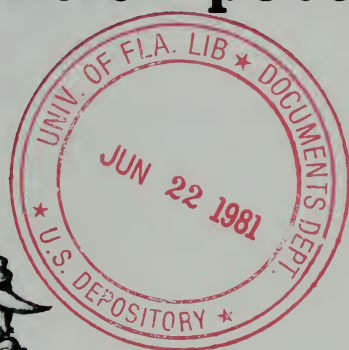


FORT HUACHUCA

The story of a frontier post





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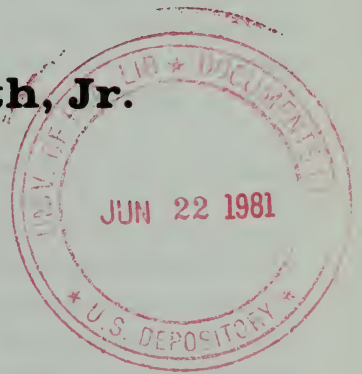
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FORT HUACHUCA

The story of a frontier post

by

Cornelius C. Smith, Jr.

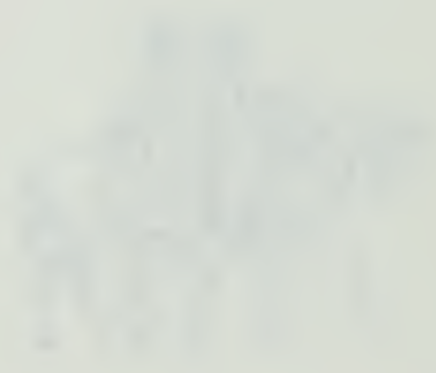


FORT HUACHUCA, ARIZONA



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AT AUSTIN



Cover art taken from the Paul A. Rossi design
of the Fort Huachuca Centennial Medallion.

FOREWORD

From that day when I first passed down the east side of the Whetstone Mountains and looked down into the Babocomari and San Pedro River valleys and onto Fort Huachuca nestled in Huachuca Canyon, I have been captivated by the magical combination of geography, history and people that have made Fort Huachuca a memorable experience for me and thousands of others.

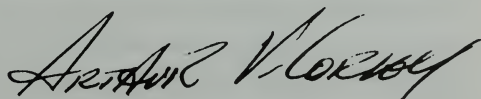
Part of the magic of Fort Huachuca is in people like Cornelius Cole Smith, Jr. - Corney to his many friends. Descendent of Arizona pioneers, son of a cavalryman and Medal of Honor winner, Corney absorbed the lore and fables of Southwestern and military history by living among generations who helped make it. Born at Fort Huachuca when the colorful U.S. Cavalry still patrolled the International Border and later returning when his father was assigned as Post Commander, Corney could have written an absorbing narrative even without the meticulous scholarly research that this volume displays.

Of the more than 70 military posts established in Arizona during the frontier era, only Fort Huachuca remains as an active Army garrison. Corney has written of the people and events that shape the character of this once lonely mountain outpost into today's center of modern technology. Reading these pages, it becomes clear why this rich heritage captures the imagination of those who are stationed here to set the tone for their service.

Marching across this historical landscape are heroes and rogues, builders and destroyers, the compassionate and cruel, politician and soldier, those devoted to service and the opportunist, the high and the mighty, and the lowly. But, as the story of this multitude of diverse characters unfolds, one finds the thread of lives that established a standard above and beyond the call of duty.

Misplaced nostalgic perceptions of the glamour and color of a bygone era can be allowed to overshadow and diffuse the realities of today. But the value of the focused historical lessons of this volume lies in their illumination of how and why a people persevered against incredible odds in this sometimes hostile but ever-fascinating land.

And the people that led us to where we are today are the substance of the story that Cornelius Cole Smith, Jr. has written.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Arnold Morley". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized "M" and "L".

Colonel Field Artillery
Commander, HQ Ft. Huachuca

This book is dedicated to all the gallant men and women who have served at Fort Huachuca during its first century of existence, fortunate individuals who have helped to make the post one of the truly unique places in American military annals.

PREFACE

Fort Huachuca, Arizona, is a unique and colorful place. Given its location, character, and the remarkable things which have happened there through the years, it could scarcely be otherwise. Born of necessity, nurtured in hardship, and vulnerable to savage attack in its formative years, the post served courageously to protect an ever-increasing influx of settlers into a wild and fearsome territory. Southeastern Arizona had heard the tramp of conqueror's feet for centuries, first the armored and plumed soldiers of Spain marching proudly through the cactus-strewn and lonely desert wastes, then the Mexicans, and finally the tidal wave of Anglos, pouring in to dig the mines, till the soil, and build the cities and towns.

Brooding in the mountain passes, the silent Apaches watched the passing parade, avoiding confrontation whenever possible, offering battle whenever necessary. Theirs was a primitive but efficient life style, based upon movement, plunder, and the hunt. With the Spanish reach for empire, colonization, and usurpation of Indian lands, the Apaches retaliated in the only way they knew how, by vicious and sustained attack upon anyone violating Apache territory.

Emigrants pressing westward in tiny wagon trains ran the risk of ambush and slaughter. Lone travelers, overland-mail riders, and itinerant merchants were gunned down and mutilated in their death throes. Mexicans woodcutters, sheep herders, and cattle drovers were felled by arrows as silent as starlight, and roasted alive over glowing coals. Small settlements became walled fortresses, cut off from the mainstream of civilization, and set adrift in a sea of malevolent Apache savagery and cunning.

For centuries protests had been lodged to indifferent authorities by over-worked field commanders and irritated provisional governors but to no avail. The Spanish Viceroy had more important matters to deal with than isolated instances of rapine and murder on a distant frontier. Let the army handle it. And the army did, by the reasonable policy of treating with Indian depredations ad hoc. Early on, the

pragmatic Spanish learned that large-scale primitive expeditions were ineffective; the adversaries were as wary as prairie chickens, and as elusive as the wind.

The Mexicans, taking their cue from the Spanish, kept a low profile generally, going out against Apache raiders only as necessary and never putting large armies into the field. The Anglos were of different temperament, incredulous at the Latin tolerance of Indian savagery, outraged at bloody Apache depredations, and determined to eradicate the menace once and for all. To pursue that end they built forts, lonely outposts in the draws and canyons of New Mexico and Arizona, frontier bastions to link up with those in Texas which had seen such harrowing service against the Comanches and Kiowas.

That is where Fort Huachuca comes in, one of the 50 frontier army posts erected in Arizona in the latter part of the 19th century. If one were to look at the map of Southeastern Arizona, Western New Mexico, Northwestern Chihuahua and Northern Sonora, and place a pin at Fort Huachuca, he would see that the place lies deep within Apache country. Off to the north lie the Mustang and Whetstone Mountains, scene of many Army-Apache skirmishes of yesteryear. To the northeast lie the brooding Dragoons and the mighty Chiricahuas, and in the blue distance the Grahams. To the east are the Mules, the Peloncillos, and the Swisshelms. To the south lie the Sierra Azules, and the labyrinthine Sierra Madres, and off to the west Mt. Wrightson juts its needle-like peak proudly above the Santa Ritas. These were Apache Mountains, filled with Apache game, summer wickiups, and Apache spirits. If the White man wanted the gold and silver hiding in the hills he would have to win access to the precious metals the hard way. In this embittered struggle between alien cultures lies the reason for Fort Huachuca's existence. The post's story, at least in its initial stages, is one of a savage contest of arms between dedicated and able frontier army soldiers and implacable Indian braves, a confrontation which culminated in the inevitable reduction of the primitive by the technologically advanced. This was brought on not so much by the introduction of equipment and machines, however, as by persistence and the sheer weight of numbers.

Over the years Fort Huachuca has seen it all, the cavalry charge and the marathon infantry march, the burro and the pack mule, the wagon train and the motor-truck convoy, the hospital tent and the modern surgical ward, the heliograph and the satellite

communications system. It played host to all-white regiments, and with the exception of officer personnel, all-black regiments as well. It has thrilled to the spirited music of a mounted band and reverberated to the cacophony of acid-rock. It has heard the sweet, clear notes of tattoo and taps sounded by a real bugle, and the sputtering rendition over crackling loud-speakers. In short, Fort Huachuca has done what every other community has done; it has come of age.

There are many ways to tell a story. In the main, I have used the most significant sources available to tell the Fort Huachuca story: contemporary letters, telegrams, and official records, enlivened with diaries and personal anecdotes. This will serve to provide the authenticity for a study of this kind. Also, I have quoted the words of selected authorities, and prepared a bibliography which should prove useful to students of the Southwest. Mostly, I have tried to stay away from statistics and charts, from graphs and tables, and similar wearisome pedantic paraphernalia, which oftentimes profess to assist or entertain but just as frequently does neither. Instead, I have attempted, wherever possible, to be anecdotal, to present personalities and events in story form. This is not calculated to win the plaudits of historical technicians, but will I am sure come as a relief to readers so often overwhelmed by the trivia of historical methodology. I have used notes, but no more than necessary, and I have provided a brief appendix of document facsimiles.

I have a special interest in Fort Huachuca. I was born there, and although my profession and interests have taken me to other places and climes, a part of my being remains in that wonderful old post in the lovely mountains of Southeastern Arizona.

Cornelius C. Smith, Jr.
Riverside, California, July 18, 1976

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Initially, I must thank Colonel Arthur V. Corley, Post Commander at Fort Huachuca for the inspiration to write this history. While working at Fort Huachuca from 1973 until 1976, I had considered preparing some sort of historical monograph on the post. Because of the press of duties and a natural inclination to spend leisure hours in less strenuous pursuits, I never "got around to it." Col. Corley's sense of tradition and history equals his abilities as a first-class soldier and administrator; it was he who convinced me that I should write the history of the post so meaningful to both of us. I shall be eternally grateful.

I am indebted to Doctor Bruno J. Rolak, Chief Historian for the U.S. Army Communications Command at Fort Huachuca, whose research library and wide knowledge of post history were always at my disposal. Together, we have tramped the hills and valleys around the post on many occasions, going over the ground at old Camp Wallen, Quiburi, the Cushing Massacre Site, and other historic places. An able and erudite historian, Doctor Rolak is conversant with every phase of Fort Huachuca's long and colorful development.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Jim Finley, Director of the Fort Huachuca Historical Museum, who not only has collected and classified thousands of historical documents and artifacts, but who has a diversified knowledge concerning the items he has gathered. His photographic files are voluminous, offer thousands of items unattainable elsewhere. A creative individual, Mr. Finley is a profound student of the frontier West.

I offer my sincere thanks to Jim's secretary, Mrs. Terry Ray, a veritable computer of museum material, and a generous and helpful person in making research papers available.

I am deeply indebted to Mrs. John H. Healy (Ila) of Carr Canyon, Hereford, Arizona. A native Arizonan, and a noted historian, ethnologist, and herpetologist in her own right, Mrs. Healy is the widow of Lieutenant Colonel John H. Healy, beloved officer of the

10th U.S. Cavalry at Fort Huachuca for many years, and popular writer of post historical anecdotes. Indeed, several of the stories printed in these pages are paraphrased from stories told by Col. Healy in his well-known column "Fort Huachuca Days," printed serially in the Huachuca Scout during the 1940's and 50's. Permission given by Mrs. Healy to retell these stories will provide a light touch otherwise unobtainable.

Mr. Orville Cochran was for many years the post historian and museum director at Fort Huachuca. He accomplished many praiseworthy things while engaged in his work, not the least of which was a thorough and exhaustive cataloging of virtually every photograph in the historical files. A monumental task, that has been a godsend to researchers who may perhaps have known something about a given individual, structure, or battle scene in a general way, but who sought specifics. Orville Cochran has supplied the specifics. Gone now, his was a cheerful disposition and he was always willing to lend a helping hand. I saw him last standing on the porch of the museum in 1966, waving a friendly goodbye, and calling "come again!"

I must thank Elaine Everly, archivist, Old Military Branch, National Archives, whose broad knowledge of the countless documents under her care supplied me with necessary items on call.

I owe much to a small coterie of Arizona friends whose abiding interest in the military history of the Southwest equals or perhaps surpasses my own. I refer to Dan Thrapp, noted author of Tucson; Marsh Trimble, educator of Phoenix; Reverend Charles W. Polzer, S.J., of Tucson; and Mr. Conrad McCormick, retired Warrant Officer, U.S. Army and current civilian employee at Fort Huachuca. Upon occasion we have argued the effectiveness of the heliograph experiment, compared General Crook with General Miles, and retraced the 1916 Punitive Expedition into Mexico. Those casual sessions, always productive if sometimes provocative, have helped to keep alive the very special ingredients of continuity and enthusiasm so necessary for aficionados of Southwestern military lore.

I offer thanks to the staff at the University of Arizona Library for aid in tracking down elusive facts about persons long departed, and to archivists at the Arizona Historical Society in Tucson for doing the same thing.

My gratitude to the excellent production staff of Graphic Arts at Fort Huachuca who spent considerable time in designing, typesetting

and preparing this volume for publication. I make special reference to Gordon Fraize who did the layout and design and Sandra Clements who is responsible for the typography.

Finally, but with very special consideration, I thank my wife, Grace, not only for typing the manuscript in its final form, but for sacrificing time and effort, when the two of us, in retirement, might have been doing more relaxing things. To everyone mentioned above I owe a very real debt of gratitude; without the help given to me by these people, I could not have completed this study. I hope others may profit from the effort. I have.

CORNELIUS C. SMITH, JR.

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Fort Huachuca as it looked in 1886.

CHAPTER 1

IN THE BEGINNING

As the title suggests, this is a history of Fort Huachuca. While the preponderance of narrative in these pages will treat with that famous old post and the people who served it, it is necessary to provide some historical background of the area to put the story in proper context.

In the beginning, Southeastern Arizona was a quiet world. Indian tribes lived in the general area now occupied by Fort Huachuca: Apaches and Sobaipuris nearby; Pimas and Papagos in the northwest; Yaquis and Tarahumares to the south. Some tribes were peaceful and sedentary, others nomadic and warlike. Still, there was room for all, room for the gentle tillers of the soil, and room for the brave warriors with bow and lance. Because they had not been dammed, the streams carried more water, and since there were no great herds of cattle to overgraze the land, there was much grass and little mesquite. Game was plentiful, and life pursued an even tenor with the passing of years.

With Columbus' discovery of the New World, the natives of Europe raced to make territorial claims and to exploit the vast resources of the wonderful land across the seas. Because the discoverer had served the Spanish Crown, Spain led the nations in gaining a foothold on the new continent, especially in those regions pertinent to this study. The immensity of Spain's accomplishments are not fully understood by most Americans to this day.

In the spring of 1540, Captain General Francisco de Coronado staged from Compostela, in the Mexican state of Nayarit, and started upon a two-year journey in search of the fabled Cities of Cibola. With his long train of cavalymen and foot-soldiers armed with arquebus, crossbows, and pikes, his Indian auxiliaries prodding the commissary-on-the-hoof, he crossed the present-day international line within sight of the Huachuca Mountains. One of his men, de Cardenas, discovered the Grand Canyon, and elements of his expedition proceeded almost as far north as the present-day Kansas-Nebraska border line.



Coronado on the march through southeastern Arizona, 1540.

He failed to find the golden cities reported by Fray Marcos de Niza, and Estevanico, the Moor, and he returned to Mexico City in disgrace.

Nonetheless, he was the first European explorer in these parts, 80 years before the Pilgrims set foot upon Plymouth Rock, and he paved the way for the great colonizers to come: Onate, Espejo, de Anza, and others.

It was only natural that with the conquest of the mighty Aztec Empire the Conquistadores would move north to expand the Spanish domain. With vigorous determination and uncommon vision, the Spanish captains and priests braved the uncharted wastelands stretching to infinity and, in so doing, served the triple aim of the Spanish Crown: new land for the empire, Christianization of the heathen, and gold for the coffers of Spain. With these incursions into the vast open regions of the colonial Northwest, Spain gained a foothold which it would not relinquish for 300 years.

Whenever separated by sufficient distance, aborigines of New Spain's Northwest let each other alone. When in their travels they crossed paths, strife ensued. Hence for generations intermittent warfare had been the natural order, brought on by violation of territorial integrity, divergent life-styles, and inability to communicate. It was only natural that when the Spanish came, Indians would turn away from killing each other to resist the invader. With varying degrees, all of the vigorous tribes repelled the Spanish expeditions: Opatas, Tarahumares, Yaquis, and especially the Apaches. It is notable that in three centuries of confrontation neither the Spanish nor the Mexicans were able to subdue the Apache tribes. Individuals and small bands might be disposed of, and temporary truces arranged, but Spaniards and Mexicans were never able to exercise control over the Apaches for lengthy periods.

This is interesting because it provides a clue to the character of the invaders. Each of the three civilizations which became dominant in the area, Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo-American, attempted not only to subdue by force, but to superimpose its own cultural values. Rarely did such coercion work, and, wherever it did, it was of transitory nature.

Of the three alien cultures, the Spanish was perhaps the most successful. While patronizing and often brutal, it was nonetheless consistent. Although resistant, large numbers of Indians acquiesced to Spanish rule in time. By the middle of the 1600's, Spanish institutions seemed to flourish in New Spain. By 1790 the Colonial

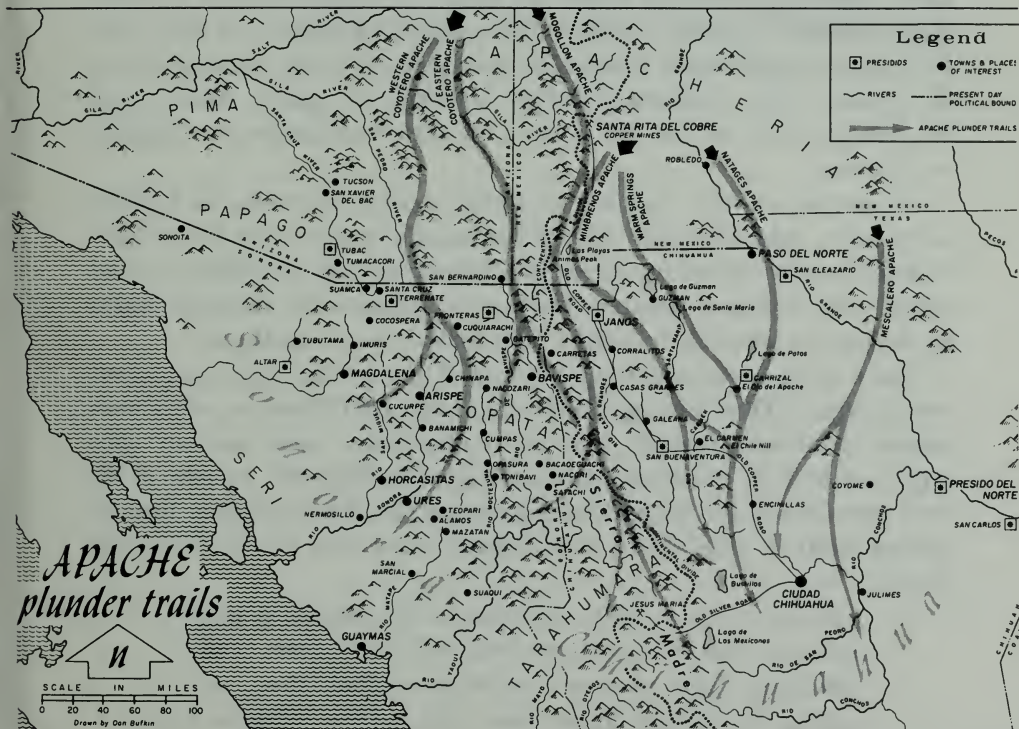
Government was placing Indians in Establecimientos de Paz (literally, establishments or settlements of peace), areas of concentration where the people were issued rations in exchange for labor. The program failed and the Indians resumed their ways.

The first years of the 19th century were no better for Spain and Ignacio Zuniga, who commanded the Northern districts in Sonora, recorded that between 1820 and 1835 no fewer than 5,000 settlers had been killed by Apaches, and that more than 100 ranches, mining camps and outlying communities had been put to the torch.

On gaining its independence from Spain, Mexico simply inherited the Spanish problems. The Mexican phase of Southwestern Indian history was marked with almost continuous strife and open revolt. While attempting to carry out Spanish policies, the Mexicans were too poorly organized to function effectively. By 1830 all of Apacheria was aflame with Apache plundering and savagery. Out of the Sierra Madres poured the marauding bands, as wild as the hordes of Gengis Khan, falling upon the helpless Mexican settlements and camps.

Penetrating deep into Mexico, Apaches from the north followed half a dozen major plunder trails, burning and killing as they went. Down from the Santa Cruz and San Pedro River Valleys came the Arivaipas, Chiricahuas, and Western Coyoteris. From the Santa Rita del Cobre District of New Mexico came the Mimbrenos and Warm Springs tribes, fanning out to hit places like Janos, Ramos, Corralitos, Casas Grandes, and Carrizal. Down the Rio Grande came the Natages Apaches, and from Texas came the Mescaleros, riding the banks of the Rio Concho to raid the tiny communities east of Chihuahua City. Over the entire northern frontier of Chihuahua and Sonora, Chiricahuas, Mescaleros, Mimbrenos, Kiowa-Apaches and Lipans ravaged and plundered at will. In the chaotic period between the Texas War for Independence and the Gadsden Purchase, the frontier of Northwestern Mexico was no-man's land. Outraged and helpless, the Mexicans could only huddle together in enclaves to offer feeble resistance to the onslaughts of the Apaches.

State officials turned to the federal government for help, but were largely ignored, and so were compelled to take matters into their own hands. They hired professional killers to annihilate the Apaches. Of questionable success, the program introduced a new dimension into an already sanguinary situation. The era of the scalp-hunters brought about as turbulent and bloody a period as Mexico had seen.



COURTESY ARIZONA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Apache plunder trails.

These men, Yankee soldiers-of-fortune, Mexican cut-throats, and Delaware and Shawnee Indians, rode in groups of 20 or 30, fell upon Apache camps and killed every living thing. Scalps were strung dripping, upon leather strings attached to saddle pommels and aprons. Riding into collection points to collect bounty, each man had his own string of trophies for the paymaster.

In 1835 the Sonoran State Government announced its *Proyecto de Guerra* as its answer to the Apache menace. Governor Jose Joaquin Calvo called upon James Kirker to form a company of men to track down and kill Apaches for pay. The scalp of an adult male (one over 14 years of age) would bring 100 pesos. Squaw scalps were priced at 50 pesos, with children's scalps fetching 25 pesos. Mercy and tenderness were not in the lexicon of the scalp-hunter; no Apache was exempt.

Reporting on the practice in 1846, George Ruxton, an English adventurer, told of seeing 170 Indian scalps draped over the portals of buildings in the main square in Chihuahua City. Probably not all scalps were Indians. Hunters frequently substituted Mexican scalps for Indian, as who indeed might differentiate between them?

There were numerous scalp-hunters. Three of the most notorious were James ("Don Santiago") Kirker, John Joel Glanton, and a man named Johnson. Rough, petulant individuals, each was an able organizer and an effective leader, adept at beating the Apache at his own game in the business of taking human life. John Gregory Bourke quotes Ruxton graphically in his classic work; *On The Border With Crook*.

Johnson was a 'man of honor'...He invited a large band of Apaches in to see him and have a feast at the old Santa Rita mine in New Mexico. While they were eating, he opened upon them with a light field-piece loaded to the muzzle with nails, bullets, and scrap-iron, filling the courtyard with dead. Glanton was a blackguard, killing everything in human form, whether Indian or Mexican. Bleeding scalps were torn from the heads of the slain and carried in triumph to Chihuahua, where the conquerors were met by the Governor, state dignitaries, and the clergy....¹

In their day, and in the circumstances of the times, these men were looked upon as saviours. In the cold light of historical assessment, they are "carnivores, beastly, vile and inhumane." Sic Gloria Transit!

Not until the appearance of the U.S. Army in the Southwest in the middle 1850's did this gruesome enterprise subside. By then, hatred for the palefaces was deeply engrained in the Indian soul. Any attempt to subjugate or pacify the Apaches would be a time-consuming and dangerous business.

CHAPTER 2

THE TROUBLESOME TREATY

American rule of the area came as a consequence of our war with Mexico, and was made especially significant with the discovery of gold in California. The travel of gold-seekers occasioned the making of new thoroughfares in Indian Country with attendant clashes between traveler and Indian. The Mexican War left no discernible trace upon Anglo-Apache relations, but the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo most certainly did. By the terms of that instrument, the United States acquired an enormous territory, including Arizona, New Mexico, California and other lands as well. The agreement was catastrophic for Mexico, but looked upon as successful by its American framers. There was one concession which opened Pandora's Box and plagued the United States for the next several decades. Article XI contained the following provision:

Considering that a great part of the territories, which, by the present treaty, are to be comprehended by the future within the limits of the United States, is now occupied by savage tribes, who will hereafter be under the exclusive control of the Government of the United States, and whose incursions with the Territory of Mexico would be prejudicial in the extreme, it is solemnly agreed that all such incursions shall be forcibly restrained by the Government of the United States, and that when they cannot be prevented, they shall be punished by said government with equal diligence and energy, as if the same incursions were meditated or committed within its own territory, against its own citizens.

In other words, Apaches crossing the International Line to raid in Mexico would be pursued and punished by American forces. Apaches simply ignored the treaty and raided at will.

In compliance with Article XI, the United States Government organized the Ninth Military District in 1848, a geographical

delineation which coincided very nearly with that of the Territory of New Mexico. A string of military posts was established in the district, ostensibly serving to block Apache use of the plunder trails. The posts linked up with those in Texas along the Rio Grande. New posts placed between San Antonio and El Paso followed the Rio Grande towards Santa Fe; they were of modest success, hindering but not prohibiting Indian depredations.¹ The real breakdown occurred in the territory West of El Paso, as there were no posts in the area.

By 1853, the Mexican Government had filed some \$15 million in claims against the United States for damages inflicted by Apache raiders. Clearly, something had to be done. Fortuitously, a situation developed which would bring American forces closer to the troubled areas. One of President Franklin Pierce's dreams was to link up East and West with a transcontinental railroad. To accomplish it he needed to acquire the land south of the Gila River, since the country to the north of it was too mountainous to lay track without prohibitive expense. Consequently, he directed his Minister to Mexico, James Gadsden, to confer with Mexican officials on the purchase of the territory south of the Gila. On December 30, 1853, the Gadsden Purchase was ratified, adding many square miles of additional land to New Mexico Territory. Like the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, it contained one very significant passage:

The Mexican Government hereby releases the United States from all liability on account of the obligations contained in the eleventh article of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo....

This concession would appear to take the United States off the hook. It did not. The Mexicans, still smarting from the loss of half a continent and stung by the additional loss of land through the Gadsden Purchase, saw no reason why Americans should not continue to protect them from Apaches. Mexicans were not alone in their hatred and fear of Apaches. American settlers in the Santa Cruz and San Pedro Valleys were equally determined to liquidate the Indians, and through it all the Apaches continued to raid indiscriminately. To make matters worse, Mexican bandits frequently crossed the border to ravish American settlements, with the consequence that American Rangers, irregulars, and vigilantes retaliated by chasing the desperadoes back over the line.

Reciprocal agreements were made whereby the duly established police forces of either nation could engage in "hot chase" of criminals across the border. Only moderately successful, the

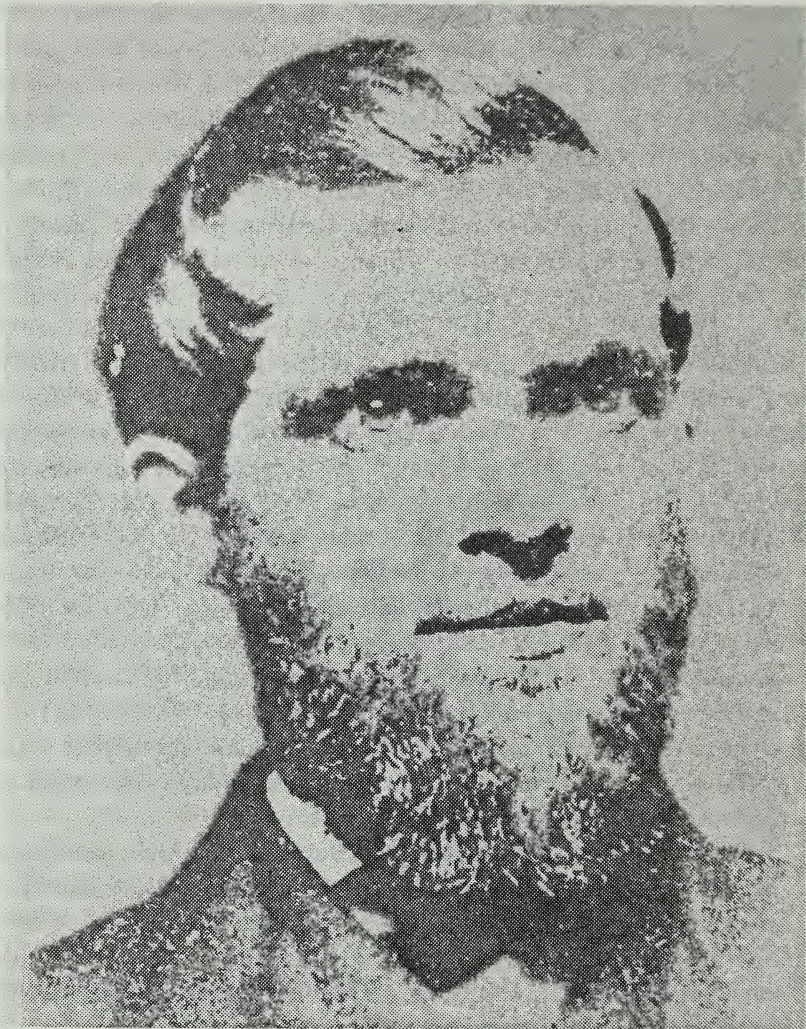
arrangements were "sometime things," valid one year and abrogated the next.

As Americans moved westward, it became necessary to establish additional garrisons for the protection of settlers, so that from 1856 to 1876, eleven new posts were built in Arizona Territory south of the Gila.² One, Fort Buchanan, predated the Civil War, having been established by a detachment of the First Dragoons under Colonel J.V.F. Blake in November, 1856. The others, except Fort Thomas, were essentially products of the Civil War, erected between 1860 and 1867, several by members of Brigadier General James H. Carleton's famous California Column. Fort Thomas was established in August, 1876, to replace Camp Goodwin, when it was abandoned because of a heavy incidence of malaria. The use of these posts proved insufficient in curbing Apache depredations, and so the government elected to put up yet another post in the trouble zone. It may be useful here to enumerate some of the episodes which underlined the need for military garrisons throughout Southeastern Arizona, and which led to the establishment of Camp Huachuca in March, 1877.

In February, 1861, Second Lieutenant George Nicholas Bascom, 7th U.S. Infantry, tried to arrest the Apache Chief Cochise at Siphon Canyon and, in so doing, unwittingly inflamed the Apache Wars. Ensuing events growing out of this unfortunate affair ended in the torture and killing of 16 Americans and Mexicans by Cochise, and the hanging by the army of six Apaches in reprisal.³ War broke out, a long, drawn-out, bloody struggle between Indians and Whites waged intermittently for a quarter of a century, and ended only with the surrender of Geronimo in September, 1886.

The Bascom Affair probably has generated as much intellectual heat as any of the episodes of Arizona history. Miraculously, it continues to do so. No two chronicles of the event seem to be in complete agreement on it; and there has evolved a sort of feud, one side supporting Bascom, the other Cochise. Like all arguments, this one has elements of truth on both sides. There is, however, one point which the champions of Cochise seem to overlook.

While perhaps rash and intemperate, Bascom did not issue the order to hang the Apache hostages. He frequently has been charged with that action, however. He did in fact object to the hanging, but was overruled by Doctor B.J.D. Irwin, the Assistant Surgeon from Fort Buchanan, and First Lieutenant Isaiah N. Moore, commanding G company, 1st U.S. Dragoons, from Fort Breckinridge. On his return to Buchanan, Bascom was commended by his superior for the



Lt. George Bascom

way he handled the Cochise matter. Later, the Commander, Department of New Mexico, lauded Bascom in similar fashion. Bascom died on February 21, 1862, at the Battle of Val Verde, New Mexico, one year after the tragic affair at Apache Pass.

Fanning the flames of hatred and mistrust was the infamous Camp Grant Massacre of April 30, 1871, wherein a party of six Americans, 47 Mexicans and 92 Papago Indians attacked an Apache rancheria at daybreak and slaughtered many women and children. Casualty figures for the grisly affair ran from 30 to 150, a considerable disparity, but were conclusive enough to establish that a major impasse had been reached in Anglo-Apache relations.⁴

Five days later, on May 5, Lieutenant Howard Bass Cushing, leading a detail of F Troop, 3rd U.S. Cavalry, was ambushed by a large band of Apaches at the base of the Whetstone Mountains, at a point about two miles north of the abandoned Camp Wallen. The Indians probably were led by the indefatigable warrior Juh, although historians are not agreed on this point. Cushing was killed in this engagement, along with a Mr. Simpson and Private Green.

As Commander of the Department of Arizona from 1871 to 1876, General Crook subdued the Apaches and was the idol of a grateful territory, whose legislature eulogized him in its sessions. Indeed, his promotion to the permanent rank of Brigadier General came as a result of his efforts during this period. Following his transfer to the Department of the Platte, Arizona was thrown once more into a period of violence and bloodshed. It would remain so until Crook's return in 1882 to resume his war against the Apaches.

Trouble on the Chiricahua Reservation kept the Army busy during 1876. Governor A.P.K. Safford arranged to replace the Indian Agent there, Thomas J. Jeffords, with a young man from the East, John P. Clum. Jeffords, who had befriended Cochise, was admired and respected by Indians and Whites alike. Clum, with his own intransigent ideas of how to run the agency, was liked by the Indians, whom he favored, but mistrusted by the army. His career as Agent at San Carlos was marred by a long series of disputes with the men in blue.

The Chiricahuas were transferred to San Carlos by order of Colonel August V. Kautz, using troops of the 6th Cavalry from Lowell, Grant and Bowie. Two companies of Indian scouts aided in the transfer. Transfer of the Chiricahuas did little to lessen Apache raiding. New raids in the Sonoita Valley early in 1877 caused the

government to consider establishing a new post somewhere in the vicinity of the northern slopes of the Huachuca Mountains.

NEW POST ON THE BORDER

As the army considered the placement of the new camp, Apaches roamed the wilderness in the Dragoons and Chiricahuas. "Ghost Face," the Apache winter lingered, with snow covering the higher peaks and keen winds whistling down the canyons. Soon it would be the season of "Little Eagles," with the appearance of new life in the land around them. Also, it would be time to raid again, to replenish the dwindling stocks and to get new ponies. It was time for the army to move.

From his office in Prescott, Col. Kautz was not concerned with the poetic passing of one season to the next; he had a territory to protect and a new camp to build. Along with his other problems, which included running battles with Governor Safford and Agent Clum, Kautz had to face the fact that the best troops in Arizona had gone north into Wyoming and Montana with Gen. Crook. Whom should he select to head the expedition into the Huachucas?

Whoever received the assignment would face political as well as tactical and strategic problems. Now the Mexican Government was objecting to American troops crossing the border in hot chase. Vitally interested in the establishment of new posts in Arizona Territory by Americans, the Mexicans wanted them used so as to engage Apache raiding parties above the border, not below it. In this climate Kautz envisioned a temporary camp only. Indeed, in his report to the Secretary of War in August, 1877, Kautz was still making reference to the "temporary camp established in the Huachuca Mountains."

Believing that a garrison of two troops of cavalry would suffice for the operation, Kautz selected Captain Samuel Marmaduke Whitside, commanding B Troop, 6th Cavalry, at Fort Lowell, to command the expedition. Accompanying Whitside would be Captain William A. Rafferty, with M Troop, 6th Cavalry, from Camp Grant. Later on, in May, these two troops would be joined by Second Lieutenant Robert Hanna, commanding D Company, Indian scouts, Camp Grant.



Capt. Samuel Marmaduke Whitside, 6th U.S. Cavalry; co-founder of Camp Huachuca, March 3, 1877.



Col. A. V. Kautz, shown wearing brevet Major General rank insignia (for meritorious service during Richmond Campaign, Civil War).



Dragoon Mountains, Apache stronghold during 1870's and 80's.

In Special Order 14 issued at Prescott on February 12, 1877, Kautz stipulated that the two troops would proceed to the vicinity of old Camp Crittenden and establish a camp for the protection of settlers in the San Pedro and Santa Cruz Valleys. A 30-day supply would be drawn by each company at its own post, with all supplies drawn thereafter emanating from each organization's home station.

Working its way in a southeasterly direction, the column passed the stern shadow-enveloped Whetstone Mountains and came to rest at the desolate ruins of old Camp Wallen. Wallen had been built in May, 1866, by men of the California Column, and named for Colonel H.D. Wallen, Commander of the Northern District of Arizona. Originally, the place had been the site of a 17th Century Spanish Fort called Gaybanoptea, with an adobe watch-tower located at the southwestern end of the compound and overlooking the Babocomari from a vantage point on a bluff.

When Whitside came to Wallen, Mexican sheep-herders, employees of the San Ignacio del Babocomari Ranch, were living in the ruined adobes. Interestingly, the watch tower still stands on the 38,000-acre cattle ranch owned by Frank Cullen Brophy of Phoenix. The ranch bears the same name, San Ignacio del Babocomari, and is a part of the huge ranch purchased by Ignacio Elias on December 25, 1832, for the princely sum of \$380. Whether the crumbling adobe tower is a remnant of Spanish days or represents Mexican or American construction is not certain.

Wallen had a short life and, because of malaria, was abandoned on October 31, 1869. Now, seven and one half years later, the place lay in ruins, its walls crumbling and heaps of refuse littering the scene. In their hurry to evacuate, soldiers had strewn the camp with all manner of stuff: cans, broken bottles, kitchenware and pieces of crockery, leather, battered boxes and outworn equipment.

Eliminating Wallen as a camp site, probably as much for aesthetic reasons as for considerations of health, Whitside rode on some eight miles to the south, to that rising sweep of land which climbs to the base of the Huachuca mountains. There at the mouth of Huachuca Canyon, where a lively stream ran with pure cold mountain water, Whitside made his camp. The day was Saturday, March 3, 1877. Before deciding to make a permanent camp upon the spot, the captain made inspections of the neighboring canyons: Garden, Miller, Carr and Ramsey; and even sent a scouting party to scan the area from Sentinel Peak. There was no more suitable location. The great Mormon leader, Brigham Young, in looking upon the vast Salt Lake

Valley from the hilltops of the Wasatch Range, had said: "This is the place." Capt. Whitside's remarks on viewing the countryside from the Huachucas are not recorded. They must have been comparable to those uttered by Young.

The site commanded a spectacular panorama. To the east lay the Dragoons, Peloncillos and Swisshelms, with the mighty Chiricahuas lifting their heads in the blue distance. To the west the troopers could see Mt. Wrightson jutting into the sky from the Santa Ritas, and to the north lay the Mustangs, Whetstones and the Grahams beyond. From this point of vantage, enemy movements might be seen at great distances, as might dust clouds raised by mounted bands of hostiles, camp fires and smoke signals.

Selection of the mouth of Huachuca Canyon for the camp site was based not only upon its elevation but upon the abundant supply of water, good grass and the presence of sheltering ridges overlooking the camp. Huge old cottonwoods and sycamores lined the creek and in the mountains were dense forests of pine to supply lumber for building.

In his first official entry in a log book identifying the place, Whitside wrote: "Camp Huachuca, Huachuca Mountains, Arizona Territory, Capt. S.M. Whitside, Commanding Officer." Except for substituting the word "Fort" for "Camp," the place has never changed its identity. Fort Huachuca it remains to this day, proudly serving the United States Army as the scene of one of its major commands, the United States Army Communications Command.

The name Huachuca is Indian, and historians and ethnologists argue over its meaning. Some hold that the word is Apache and means "thunder." Others say it is a Piman word or phrase meaning "it rains here." Linguists have a rather prosaic interpretation and insist that the word is of Athapaskan rootstock and means "place where the bee-weed spreads out." Anyone caught in Huachuca Canyon during a summer cloudburst, with the deafening peals of thunder, the jagged flashes of lightning and the cascading torrents of water is likely to opt for the thunder derivative. In any case Huachuca Peak is called "Thunder Mountain" by area residents who will have nothing to do with bee-weeds or any other flora purporting to be name candidates.

Shortly after establishing the camp, Whitside initiated a system of patrols covering a radius of about forty miles from camp. Combining these observation posts, placed in strategic locations, he was able to provide relative security for settlers in the area. It was not long,

however, before his task was made more burdensome by overtures from the Mexican Government.

Sonora, cut off from the rest of Mexico by hostile Yaqui Indians within its borders, was plagued additionally with Apaches and Mexican bandits who terrorized the countryside. Nonetheless, state officials, safely ensconced in garrisons and jealous of their prerogatives, wanted no help from the "Yanquis."

Not long after the establishment of Camp Huachuca, Mexican bandits raided north of the border and Capt. Rafferty was sent out with M Troop to run them down. Riding hard, Rafferty caught up with the desperadoes and killed a number of them in pitched battle. The outcry was instantaneous and loud.

General Porfirio Diaz, the tough soldier who had won his spurs fighting for Benito Juarez in the war against the puppet Emperor Maximilian, was the new President of Mexico at the time of this incident. His position not yet solid; he saw the "invasion" (although sanctified by treaty) as his golden opportunity to capture the imagination of the Mexican people. Consequently, he sent an acrimonious protest to Washington, complaining of American arrogance, and called simultaneously upon Mexicans to arm themselves against possible invasion from the north. A large portion of the Mexican Federal Army under General Geronimo Trevino was ordered to Sonora. American troops throughout the Department of Arizona were alerted. Nothing happened, but Diaz achieved his end. So popular was his gesture that he became entrenched in the presidential chair. Except for one brief interval, from 1880 to 1884 when Manuel Gonzales was the Chief Executive, Don Porfirio Diaz was Mexico's president from 1877 until 1911. He was in essence more than the country's top official; he was Mexico. Diaz withdrew the reciprocal agreement concerning hot chase in April, 1878. A new treaty permitting the practise would not come again until July, 1882, two months before General Crook's return to Arizona to put it to use.

If Huachuca's valiant men could not run Apaches into Mexico, they could chase them at home. In August, 1877, Lt. Hanna, commanding D Company, Indian scouts, and details from B and M Troops, 6th Cavalry, left Huachuca on a long chase after Apaches. On the evening of August 18th, some hostiles slipped into camp and ran off some horses, one of them belonging to Hanna's Chief of Scouts, Dan O'Leary.

Taking the trail, Hanna's column found it to be leading to the southwest. It was apparent that the Indians were heading for a hideout in Mexico; the chase would be a short one. Hanna's men were seen by the fleeing Apaches, who for some inexplicable reason veered north and headed for the Whetstones. From the base of these mountains, the hostiles turned east, crossed the San Pedro River, and disappeared into the Dragoons.

Relentlessly, Hanna trailed the band through Sulphur Springs Valley and into the Chiricahuas, coming out near Dos Cabezas, north of Fort Bowie. At Goodwin's Springs Hanna stopped for water. There was none, and the thirsty men and animals pressed on without it. At Bowie the command watered, while learning that a mail rider from the east had been waylaid and killed by Apaches in the land Hanna had been traveling.

On August 25th, Hanna was joined by Lieutenant John Anthony ("Tony") Rucker, with 18 men of H and L Troops, 6th Cavalry, and company C, Hualpai scouts. The reinforced column soon ran into trouble. Water ran out and none could be found anywhere. After riding for two days without water, and over the roughest terrain in the broiling summer sun, Hanna's men were on the verge of collapse. "Many of the men were insane for it (water), having been climbing through the Stein Peak Mountains all day."¹

New Indian trails became visible, all leading north toward Solomonsville. Hanna crossed the Gila River about 25 miles above that tiny community and followed it to within about five miles of the San Carlos Reservation. Continuing, he went on into Fort Thomas to contact the Department Commander, only to learn that the Warm Springs Apaches had bolted the reservation and that Major Tupper was in pursuit. Hanna and Tupper joined forces at once.²

By now the pursuit force had 60 scouts, having picked up an additional 20 of the San Carlos Indian Police. Also, it had some 70 soldiers from B, G, H, and L Troops, 6th Cavalry, and about 45 pack mules.

On September 4th, the column left the Gila River, and at about noon ran into a party of White Mountain Apaches returning from a brush with the fleeing Warm Springs band. Halting briefly to gather information, the column was on the move again within minutes. From September 4th to 9th, the pursuers were in the saddle from sunrise to sunset, stopping only once each day for water and food. They could not afford to do less; their adversaries were traveling fast and carried hardly any gear.

On September 5th the troopers climbed some precipitous cliffs and paused at the head of Rio Bonita to graze the animals. On the next day they made seven miles to Eagle Creek, rested for awhile, and continued east for 15 more weary, bone-crushing miles. On the 7th the men rode for 30 miles to the San Francisco River. They were all but played out.

On the 8th the scouts came upon the renegades and engaged them in a running fight for about ten miles. In this skirmish 10 hostiles were killed and 13 taken prisoner. Wrote Hanna of the incident later: "in the darkness of night, it is probable that many more were killed or wounded who were not found."³

One of the prisoners, a squaw, informed Hanna that the band was heading for Mexico. She also revealed details of the Indian's flight, saying that the party had split up, part going with Pionsonay toward Mexico, and part riding with Chiva toward Fort Wingate. It was unlikely that Hanna would catch up with either of these bands now. Twenty-two days out of Huachuca, short on rations, exhausted, Hanna's men gave up the chase.

In the exhaustive chase Hanna and his men covered "702 miles," perhaps a little exaggerated if one traces the pursuit route on a map.⁴ Notwithstanding, Hanna's pursuit was an epic one, the likes of which would be repeated many times in the next nine years. Hanna had chased the men of Victorio and Loco, two of the greatest Apache chiefs. His successors would trail Geronimo. Always, the brave troopers would chase the wind and shoot at shadows. Nothing would come easy.

Hanna had one cheerful note for Capt. Whitside: "Some of the Hualpai scouts report that many of the hostiles using the old three-band 50 caliber muskets could not get off shots."⁵ One should be grateful for all such favors.

Because he was unable to confine Apaches to their reservations, Col. Kautz fell victim to Governor Safford and a hostile Territorial Press. In 1878 he was replaced with Colonel Orlando B. Willcox. A man with a brilliant Civil War record, Wilcox was no more successful in subduing the Apaches than Kautz, and so was replaced with Gen. Crook in September, 1882. Once more, this able officer accomplished the seemingly impossible by tracking down the main body of Apaches in Sonora and returning them to reservations in Arizona. By January, 1884, all but a handful of hostiles were under army control.



First Lt. Robert Hanna, 6th U.S. Cavalry, Fort Bayard, N.M., 1866. He brought first company of Indian scouts to Fort Huachuca, 29 May, 1877.

CHAPTER 4

GROWING PAINS

For the first several months following establishment of the post, the men of Huachuca slept in tents and cooked in the open, having little more than a bivouac. Animals grazed under guard and the herders were ever watchful for Apaches, who might slip into camp and stampede the horses. Conditions were necessarily primitive; the comforts of established garrison life were a long way off.

The first woman to arrive at Camp Huachuca was the wife of the commander. Carrie McGavock Whitside was a native of Nashville, Tennessee, used to the lush meadows along the banks of the Cumberland River. Like most army wives, she took the abrupt change in stride. For Carrie the harshness of Southeastern Arizona was not overpowering, however, as she had accompanied her husband to several stations in Texas in the years following the Civil War. Still, Arizona was rough in comparison with Carrie's upbringing in a gentler world.

The daughter of Dr. David T. McGavock of Nashville, she was the descendant of Sir George Rooke, an officer of the British Navy who had been knighted for gallantry at the siege of Gibraltar. During the terrible Battle of Nashville in December 1864, Carrie, as a 19 year old girl, saw her father's plantation converted into a hospital with the sick and dying overflowing the rooms of the place and out upon the wide veranda.

Carrie Whitside bore her husband seven children while enduring the hardships of the western frontier. Only three reached maturity, and only one, Dallas Whitside, was born at Camp Huachuca. Dallas was born on April 22, 1879, but lived for only 20 months, dying December 28, 1880. He was buried in the post cemetery.

The first child born in Camp was Helen May Craig, daughter of Lieutenant Lewis A. Craig and his wife Georgiana. Craig had two assignments: he was a platoon leader in B Troop, 6th Cavalry, and the Post Quartermaster. Helen May was born in a tent, and her crib was fashioned from a hard-tack box. Many years later, in October,

1935, Helen's brother, Malin, would become the U.S. Army Chief of Staff.

Notwithstanding the persistent trouble caused by marauding Apaches, the garrison did its best to make Huachuca a comfortable place. Many of the tents were soon replaced with adobe huts, but true comfort lay in the future. For one thing, it rained incessantly from July until September during the first year, with almost devastating effects. In an honest but somewhat plaintive assessment of the situation, Whitside wrote on September 3, 1877:

...The rainy season started early in July and it has rained almost every day. All buildings in this post have been constructed of adobe and covered with earth...Within the last 60 days 30 to 40 inches of water has fallen, roofs are saturated and give no protection. The commissary store has been flooded and perishable supplies damaged. The Q.M. store room roof allows the water to pour through...Capt. Rafferty's and Lt. Craig's quarters have been undermined and have fallen down...All fire places in the squad rooms have been washed away. Part of B troop's stables fell down and three horses were killed. I have moved out of my quarters and am hourly expecting them to fall down...Conditions are very trying and discouraging.¹

To say the least. And when the rains came they brought forth from the earth all sorts of odd creatures that squirmed and wiggled, and slithered and stung: seven-inch centipedes of bright orange hue, which rose up like cobras when aroused; scorpions with scimitar-like barbed tails, itching to sting some human adversary; millipedes, vinagaroons, "stink" beetles, and ants of prodigious size and savagery. Snakes shared the premises too, from the fat diamond-back rattler to the pencil-thin and beautifully banded coral snake, both as deadly as sin. Picnics in the hills were diverting but somewhat worrisome at the same time.

Undoubtedly, ladies of the post yearned for the civilized life of army cantonments in the east, where lovely dresses could be worn at sparkling social gatherings, and where music was measured in lilting waltzes, gay reels, and haunting mazurkas rather than staccato bugle calls.

There were other problems. Isolation weighed heavily. Communications were erratic and agonizingly slow. Capt. Whitside

initiated a mail run between Huachuca and Tucson with couriers departing the camp each Wednesday and Sunday. The round trip took four and sometimes five days. Supplies coming in from Fort Lowell were generally insufficient and frequently unfit for use on arrival. When it wasn't raining, it was hot with temperatures reaching into the 90's and sometimes higher. Windstorms brought howling "dust-devils" keening through the camp with primitive fury.

Still, there were compensations. Because they all experienced the same difficulties, people helped one another. A new wife arriving at the far-flung outpost, perhaps fearful and full of tears, would find that women of the post had scrubbed her new quarters clean for her, and she would find them smiling on the threshold. Families of all ranks fell out for the daily retreat ceremony, proudly watching their men on the spirited cavalry mounts, spurs jingling and guidons snapping in the wind. Hunting parties brought in deer, antelope, and even bear, and the old cavalry songs were sung around roaring campfires while fresh meat roasted on the spits.²

One of the first installations at Huachuca was the Post Cemetery. It had to be near enough to the post for visits by loved ones and far enough removed so as not to interfere with camp routine. It was placed just beyond the hill northwest of camp in a spot several hundred yards away from the parade ground. The first individual to be buried there was Private Thomas P. Kelly, of B Troop, 6th U.S. Cavalry, just three days before Christmas in 1877. Dallas Whitside, infant son of Capt. S.M. Whitside, was buried there on December 28, 1880, and Elsie Patch, baby daughter of the Quartermaster, Lieutenant Alexander McCarrell Patch, was buried in July, 1887. Next to Elsie's grave is that of Annie Lawton, infant daughter of Capt. H.W. Lawton. Annie was buried in April, 1877. Her grave and Elsie's are surrounded by old time wrought iron enclosures; both are just inside the main entrance to the cemetery.

The cemetery is the final resting place for many Indian scouts, among them Shorten Bread, Go-Du-Zu-essay, Buster and Corporal John. In one mass grave are 76 unknowns brought to the cemetery in 1928 from old San Carlos when water from the Coolidge Dam was diverted to cover the area.

Two post commanders would later be buried in Huachuca's Cemetery: Major Julius W. Mason in 1882, and Colonel Edwin Hardy in 1945. Records almost 100 years old show that 614 known and 102 unknown dead are buried in the post cemetery. A tree-shaded peaceful spot, it is a scene of perpetual beauty, looking today as it did when started 100 years ago.

Holidays were of course special affairs with Christmas and the Fourth of July receiving enthusiastic attention. In 1876 the nation had celebrated its Centennial and so the fireworks were gaudier and the speeches more florid. Quietly, and with unfathomable countenance, the Indian scouts listened to the oratory. No one knew what assessments the red man made of the historic claims; tactfully, no one asked.

As the men of the command were constantly in the field, construction was slow. A bake-house of adobe was erected and topped off with a thatched roof of beargrass. In the waning months of 1877, "soapsuds row" was established, housing five laundresses to wash and iron clothes for the soldiers. The arrival of these hard-working ladies raised the man to woman ratio to a dazzling 15 to 1, not unduly exciting for the troopers but positively exhilarating to the women.

In the spring of 1879, Capt. Whitside began a sawmill operation near the mouth of Huachuca Canyon. The pine trees grew high up in the Huachucas, and it was no easy task to scale the peaks, fell the trees, skin the trunks, and then snake the huge logs down the mountainside. With the application of much muscle, considerable swearing, and the use of mules and stout chains, lumber for camp construction was obtained.

Milling and construction was hard work and drew only scattered volunteers. Some of the men, those working off hangovers or minor offenses, had no choice in the matter. The commander simply emptied the guardhouse and put the prisoners to work in the sawmill. Volunteer soldiers were paid twenty cents a day extra for their labors. Corporals and sergeants drew thirty cents, with thirty-five cents going to those with special skills, like masons, carpenters, iron-mongers and blacksmiths.

Such drudgery naturally became an irritant to the men, and Whitside's sawmill did nothing to soothe ruffled feelings. In the previous year, some anonymous troopers, fed up with the onerous housekeeping chores, had banded together and petitioned Congress for a redress of grievances:

We enlisted with the usual ideas of the life of the soldier, but find that we are obliged to perform all kinds of labor, such as...building quarters, stables, storehouses, bridges, roads, and telegraph lines...involving logging, lumbering, quarrying, adobe and brick-making, lime-burning, masonry, plastering,

carpentering, painting, blacksmithing and sometimes woodchopping and hay-making. This is in addition to guard duty, care of horses, arms and equipment, cooking, baking, police of quarters and stables, as well as drilling, and frequently to the exclusion of the latter.³

A formidable indictment! That it and perhaps others like it bore fruit is borne out by a report made by the Department's Inspector General in 1883 which scored the drill prowess of troops at Huachuca. In exasperation troop commanders explained the deficiency, writing that, since the founding of the post, their men had been so heavily engaged in tasks of labor that military drills had gone unattended.

Disgruntled or not, the soldiers of Camp Huachuca made remarkable progress in building a fine cantonment. Visitors from area communities were visibly impressed. The Arizona Weekly Star for July 12, 1877, had reported that A. Smith, Charles and John Bullard, and William Griffith, settlers on the upper San Pedro, had visited the post and were amazed at the progress made by the soldiers. They would have seen considerable change by August 1879. By then the Star was carrying another story eulogizing Whitside for his accomplishments at Huachuca:

Major Whitside was detailed for duty here 2½ years ago. He found the whole region deserted...but by his vigor, courage, sound judgment and alertness he has quieted the border, corraled the troublesome Apache, and brought into the District 2000 pioneers and workers, the result of which is the opening of mines, starting of towns, and the erection of mills...officers quarters are built in neat style of adobe brick, and are very home-like...The hospital tents were clean and cheerful, and the mess room, built of lumber was large enough for eighty soldiers...The tents of troops were fixed upon a base of boards three feet high...The whole camp was clean, bright, embowered and attractive....⁴

The year 1879 was not a particularly good one for Whitside, however. In January he broke his leg and was removed to Fort Lowell. First Lieutenant Hiram F. Winchester assumed temporary command of the post. Whitside returned to Huachuca in February but in March had a relapse and was sent to Los Angeles, where he recuperated from March 1st to July 8, 1879.

With Whitside's return to Huachuca, the post began to take permanent shape. In September the first permanent structure was begun and was completed on April 25, 1880. It was the first post hospital, an eight-bed facility erected at a cost of \$1,288.77. Through the years the structure has served several purposes: hospital, school, officer's mess, and officer's quarters. Currently the place is used as quarters and has been named Carleton House, at 127 Grierson Avenue.⁵

In November, 1879, a post office was built and was served by the first postmaster, post trader Frederick L. Austin. After months of squabbling with Whitside over the sale of whiskey to troopers, Austin left Huachuca and was replaced with the well known Indian Scout Thomas Jonathan Jeffords, remembered for his dealings with the Apache Chief Cochise.

With an initial appropriation of \$57,820 made in August, 1883, foundations for 11 officer's quarters were laid in November. These quarters were completed in 1884. Some of the officer's quarters were not needed until later, and so those "down the canyon" towards the east were not built until 1890 and 1891. Double officer's quarters around the bend leading to Henry Circle, were built in 1912, and the seven barrack buildings on Rhea Avenue did not come along until 1916.⁶

The officer's quarters were high-ceilinged, commodious structures of adobe walls covered with plaster and having stone foundations. Roofing was made of shingles, and there were hardwood floors throughout. Heating was accomplished with stoves and large fire places, and oil lamps were used for lighting. Electric lighting did not come along until after the turn of the century. Floor area above the basement averaged 3,000 square feet for captain's quarters, and about 3,700 square feet for field grade officers. Captain's quarters cost \$4,500 to build. The commanding officer's house, situated in the center of the row at a point mid-distance between the east and west extremities of the parade ground, was a little more expensive; it cost \$9,000.⁷

In the mid-1880's officers supplied their own furnishings. By 1909 the government installed beautiful and serviceable mahogany furniture, consisting of sideboards, dining tables, arm and desk chairs, chests of drawers and bookcases. These remained in quarters and served a long succession of tenants. Electric ranges, hot water heaters, and comparable innovations were brought in prior to World War I.⁸



The first hospital at Fort Huachuca, and the oldest building on post, completed in 1880.
(Now Carleton House).

The accompanying photographs show east and west views of the houses on officer's row during construction in 1883, looking singularly naked without the gracious front verandas and huge, gnarled, old cottonwoods which would enhance the looks of the quarters later on.

By contrast to the gracious living accommodations afforded Huachuca's officers, the barracks of the enlisted men were spartan. Four, two-storied, frame buildings were erected on the north side of the parade ground, consisting of little more than two large squad rooms and office space downstairs for the company non-commissioned officers. In time-honored fashion, bunks of the soldiers were lined up in rows along the walls, with locker boxes at the foot, and personal gear hanging from racks at the head of each bed. Coal oil stoves were placed at either end of these cavernous quarters with rifle racks placed in the row in the center of the room.

Toilet facilities were a bit trying early on. In his report made in 1893, Post Surgeon Timothy Wilcox wrote:

On account of the scarcity of water and the carelessness of enlisted men and laundresses, water closets have been superseded by earth closets as far as barracks and laundresses's quarters are concerned. Dry black earth is used, and the closets receive daily attention, boxes being emptied and carted away from the post at least one mile.

With the renewal of an ample water supply, enlisted men would resume use of the latrines put up in the rear of barracks, superior of course to "earth closets," but no bed of roses when soldiers made the trip from warm bunk to outhouse in freezing weather.

Sewage was conducted away in glazed earthenware pipes and emptied into Huachuca Creek about a mile below post. Garbage was carted away for a mile and burned.

Each barracks had several zinc bathtubs for the use of soldiers, and each man had his own personal wash basin. Cleaning of uniforms was done by laundresses, remarkably hardy women of the western frontier. As an institution, laundresses were inherited from the British Army and were employed far and wide in Britain's Colonial garrisons in the early 1800's. In the United States, Army regulations provided that each troop might have four laundresses, who were provided with government rations along with meager pay for the back-breaking work they did.

A rough lot generally, laundresses lived in substandard huts on the fringe of army posts. Known as "spikes," they were as raucous and hard bitten as the troopers they worked for, and now and then a trooper would take one to wife. This meant that, sooner or later, the C.O. would find himself adjudicating in a quasi-court of domestic relations. Still, these doughty ladies kept the post's men presentable and are deserving of much credit.

If the sanitary facilities were sometimes primitive, the other aspects of Huachuca's early engineering were not so bad. The water supply came from springs some three miles away from the post and at an altitude of some 500 feet above the reservoirs. The reservoirs were about 250 feet higher than the lowest point of distribution, the hospital. Water was conducted through iron pipes from springs to the reservoirs, and in iron pipes from the reservoirs to the many points of distribution.

The reservoirs were excavated in rock and cemented, and were covered with a shingled roof and beautified with lattice and screen-protected sides. There were two reservoirs, each with a capacity of 220,000 gallons. Overflow from them was used to water the parade ground.

Drainage for cellars in the officers' quarters was required and was accomplished by the use of earthenware pipes. Flood waters were handled by deep open ditches in front and rear of officer's row, and in front of the barracks. Land from the rear of the barracks fell away to Huachuca Creek which became a turbulent river in cloudbursts.

Other camp structures built in the mid-1880's included the post bakery, commissary office and warehouse, a guardhouse, and reservoirs placed upon a hill overlooking officer's row. Stables were put up behind and to the north of the bakery and guard house. The stables shown on page 40 were completed in 1888.

The second and permanent hospital was begun in April, 1884. It was a 24-bed facility put up to replace the hospital built four years earlier and which now was too small to serve efficiently. The sum of \$11,894 was allocated for erection of the hospital. It was here that Contract Surgeon Leonard Wood practiced his profession for a brief stint before leading troops in the celebrated Geronimo Campaign of 1886. Hard by the hospital, and offering some degree of convenience, was the post morgue, last stopping place for those poor troopers who would soon rest under the scrub oak trees several hundred yards away.

The first on-post structure to be declared off limits by the post commander was a two-storied adobe building somewhere in the vicinity of Huachuca Canyon. What it was intended for originally is not clear, but somewhere along the line it was used for what post records identify as a "soldier's hangout." This suggests frequent and intemperate use of spirits, or worse; in any case, the commander, weary of filling the guardhouse with men from this rather pleasant looking structure, simply closed it up. The building no longer stands.

With the permanent character assumed by Camp Huachuca, settlers began to pour into the area, bringing stockmen, miners, and adventurers of varying persuasion. Silver was discovered in the Tombstone area and soon the place was a boom town with over 1,200 residents. Copper deposits were uncovered, and many of Huachuca's officers, including Whitside, invested in the newly formed Copper Queen Company. Interestingly, Whitside was a part of the group which brought water to Tombstone in a scheme which transferred water from Carr and Miller Canyons, across the San Pedro River Valley, into the mining community.

Captain Whitside has effected the organization of a company in the East for the purpose of bringing water into this district from the Huachuca Mountains, the purpose of which company is to supply all the hoisting works of the district and also a sufficiency to run any steam mills which may be erected here. A large capital has been subscribed and 36 miles of 15-inch pipe has been ordered.⁹

On Sunday, March 20, 1880, the first transcontinental train over the Southern Pacific line came to Tucson. The Honorable Estevan Ochoa presented the line's president, Charles Crocker, with a handmade silver spike from the silver bullion out of the Toughnut Mine in Tombstone. William Sanders Oury, a respected and pioneer citizen of Tucson, delivered the welcoming address and ended by saying:

...in the whirl of excitement incident to the race after the precious treasure embedded in our mountain ranges, our last request is that you kindly avoid trampling in the dust the few remaining monuments of the first American settlement of Arizona.¹⁰

Whether Oury liked it or not, progress was coming to the Territory, and soon a spur of the railroad would run from Benson to Tombstone, and more people would fill the San Pedro Valley. As early as 1879, Major General Irvin McDowell, Commander,



Muster of Troops I, H and L, 6th U.S. Cavalry, and C Company 1st Infantry, Fort Huachuca, 1884.

Department of the Pacific, was pressing for permanent status for Camp Huachuca. Urged on by Whitside's persistent efforts in this direction, McDowell endorsed the idea to the Secretary of War, George Washington McCrary. The "talking points" were favorable. A stage line connected the post with Benson and Tucson, and telegraph service put the army in communication with Charleston, from whence messages might be relayed to far away places. The bid for permanent post status was strengthened by a statement issued in 1880 by the Assistant Inspector General of the Department, James Biddle:

A camp which is a tent city is an expensive way to shelter troops and supplies. Constant replacement of canvas is costly. The vast growth of the mining industry in the Southwest cannot be appreciated without being seen. Towns have sprung up as if by magic. The sound of mills is heard all over this section. The flow of bullion is large and increases daily....

All of this will induce the Indian inhabitants of Sonora to raid and commit depredations...I recommend that...permanent buildings be erected (at Huachuca) and a garrison of some strength assigned here, that protection may be afforded to all these mining towns, and which will be an asylum to our citizens now in Sonora....

Biddle's words won the support of the Chief of Staff, General Tecumseh Sherman, who included the proposal in his annual report to the Secretary of War. Accordingly, in September 1881, a board of officers convened to deal with the issue of permanent status for Huachuca. Satisfied that the post ought to take its place in the ranks of permanent army garrisons, the board initiated estimates and building plans and appropriated an initial sum of \$20,000 to commence construction. It was from this small beginning that the building activity described above had its start.

A military reservation was mapped showing a post area of almost 42,000 acres. In 1883 the area was enlarged bringing the northern extremity adjacent to the famous Babocomari land grant. That line still separates the two areas.

On Thursday, February 9, 1882, the importunings of Whitside, Biddle, et al, paid off. Camp Huachuca was redesignated Fort



Officer's row under construction, 1883-84.



Another view of officer's row under construction, reservoir hill in background.

Huachuca, and so it has remained to this day. Some writers have credited Gen. Sherman's visit to Huachuca as the deciding factor in substitution of the word "fort" for "post." This is not precisely true. Certainly Sherman was in favor of the change, but his attitude was already a matter of record. He did not come to Huachuca until April, a month after designation of the post. In any case, he gave his approval for the replacement of tents with permanent buildings, and his visit gave momentum to the construction program.

That Fort Huachuca had merit as a permanent installation is seen by the abandonment of other posts within this time frame. For purposes of economy, the dispersal policy was being put aside in favor of concentrating key establishments throughout the west. With supply problems simplified by the introduction of rail lines, and with a general (if temporary) slackening of Indian troubles, the War Department began culling out its western garrisons in 1880. The ensuing decade saw a dramatic cutback in these lonely, far-flung outposts. Of the 111 western posts serving in 1880, only 62 remained in 1891. Fort Huachuca was one of the survivors and stands alone in its long record of service to Arizona and to the nation. Of the posts established in Arizona Territory from 1851 to 1887, Fort Huachuca is the only one to survive as a fully activated Army fort. There were two breaks, one from September 1947 to April 1951, another from June 1953 to February 1954. These are explained in another section of this study.

Captain S.M. Whitside had done a remarkable job in selecting the site for Camp Huachuca, building the post and refining it, and preparing it for its most arduous missions. By spring, 1881, this capable and energetic officer reached the end of his tour there and moved on. His last day was Sunday, March 28, 1881, and the troops turned out for him in review.

Whitside's new assignment was recruiting duty, at first in Washington, then in Rochester and Chicago. It was a far cry from exciting days on the border, but, as military men have always said in comparing service tours, "it all counts on thirty." Whitside did not see Huachuca redesignated as a fort; that honor was left to his friend, Tullius Cicero Tupper. Still, in his heart, he knew it would achieve that status, and that without him there would have been no fort at all.

Concomitant with Whitside's departure was that of his beloved command, B troop, 6th Cavalry. The troop was removed to Fort Thomas and would not put in another appearance at Fort Huachuca



Squad-room for troopers (4th Cavalry) 1884.



Double-barracks at northwest end of parade ground. Barracks erected in 1883.

for another 30 years, returning on July 15, 1913, when the 6th Regiment "came home" to Huachuca under the command of Colonel Charles Mallon O'Connor. As Whitside left Huachuca, elements of the 1st and 3rd Cavalry and 12th Infantry Regiments were there.

The Indians were restive, and in August 1881 would engage troops D and E, 6th U.S. Cavalry under Colonel Eugene Asa Carr, at Cibicu Creek in the White Mountains. That was no affair of Huachuca's; still, the men had to be ready to move out after Geronimo in May, 1886. There were minor scrapes to keep the men occupied, however.

In March, 1883, Chato and 26 Apache braves raided a charcoal camp in the Canelo hills just west of Huachuca. They killed four workers and lost one of their own men. A detachment was sent out from the post but, by the time it arrived upon the scene, Chato and his friends had fled. But the Indian body lay where it had fallen.

So worked up were the good people of Charleston over the incident that they purchased an engraved rifle and presented it to the man who had shot the Indian. Not only that, the Apache's skull was boiled, polished with wire brushes, and skewered upon a pole which was displayed in the middle of town by the proud residents.

Before looking at the Geronimo Campaign, let us consider briefly the life of a soldier at Fort Huachuca in the post's formative years.



Post bakery, 1886 (now De Rosy Cabell Hall).



Post Commissary, 1886.



Post guard-house, 1886, held 85 men and cost the government \$8,900.



Post stables.

PAYDAYS AND HANGOVERS

From any point of view, soldier life at Fort Huachuca in its pristine years was no picnic. Rudely awakened at 5:20 a.m. by first call, troopers fell out for inspection ten minutes later, grumbling, shivering, and cursing in the semi-darkness, and jolted out of sleep by the roar of the reveille cannon. Not the puny firecracker report offered nowadays by artillery pieces in observance of the old time ceremonies, but an honest-to-God thunderclap from a 12-pound Napoleon gun, ear-splitting, and nerve-shattering. As soldiers have done since the times of Alexander and Caesar, the men of Huachuca fell out mouthing curses against their noisy and arrogant N.C.O's but not too loudly lest they draw the more undesirable details of the day.

Breakfast came at 5:40, generally consisting of some sort of mush, hash, or pork, or on good days, bacon, eggs, and pancakes swimming in maple syrup. Drill followed breakfast and lasted until about 8:30 when Guard Mount was held. This was one of the highlights of the soldier's day. Companies assembled before their barracks and lined up for inspection. At second call, details were marched to an assembly point on the parade ground and inspected by the post adjutant. As the band played some festive air, like "The Girl I Left Behind Me," or "The Secession Polka," the guard was formed and marched off to the guardhouse to relieve the old guard. With horses prancing and nickering, and guidons cracking in the breeze, guard mount was a stirring spectacle.

While guard mounts and parades were stimulating, workaday routines were not especially so. Duty rosters for Huachuca in the 1880's show men engaged in such exhilarating employment as escorts for pay wagons and surveying parties, guards for railroad construction workers, stringers of telegraph wire, and even as deputies to the sheriffs in Tombstone and Bisbee to keep the peace around the gin mills and bordellos. There was always something to look forward to, however: payday.

Paydays were electrifying. All month the sore-pressed troopers sweated and slaved for the munificent sum of \$13.00. If they celebrated a bit on payday, who could blame them? And celebrate they did, drinking and carousing until funds ran out, and then borrowing more. They fought townspeople, Indians, each other, anybody within reach, often leaving the tawdry little bistros in perfect shambles.

Naturally, relaxation in these vicious little dens of iniquity was synonymous with over-indulgence. Loneliness, boredom, hard work all joined to force the soldier into the syndrome of boozing on payday. Not all were so inflicted, but a sufficient number so that the problem was serious at Huachuca as it was elsewhere in the garrisons of the West.

The debauchers faced one overriding problem. Three dollars of a trooper's pay was withheld at the pay table and given to the laundress who washed his clothes. Normally, the First Sergeant withheld a dollar for the company fund. That left nine dollars for fun and games, not ideal, but sufficient. All of this was predicated on the theory that the paymaster would arrive on schedule each month. Generally he did not. Working out of Fort Lowell, the area supply and administrative center, the paymaster made regular rounds to southeastern Arizona posts, attempting to visit each one on schedule.

Time, distance, the weather, and the ever-present threat of Apache ambush made any sort of regular visitation unrealistic. Frequently, posts went several months without a visit from the paymaster.

Stuffing nine dollars in pockets, the troopers clambered aboard Dougherty Wagons for the runs into Tombstone, Charleston, and Fairbank. Within hours these desert Sodoms and Gomorrahs were transformed into bedlam. In the morning grizzled NCO's rounded up their dehydrated charges and poured them back into the wagons for the excruciating journey back to the post. Sometimes the bracing morning air served to revive the revelers. Like as not, it only made things worse, and the poor souls wound up in the guardhouse on top of it.

Understandably, the day following payday saw a hefty percentage of the command unfit for normal duty. This made it especially hazardous for those trafficking in liquor within the camp. Men caught with it were forced to dig a hole six feet deep and six feet wide on a side, wherein the offending corpus delicti was ceremoniously "buried." Back-breaking labor, it was not a successful deterrent. Men

continued to smuggle liquor into camp, and there are records of men burying more than one bottle.

Captain Whitside was sternly opposed to the presence and use of spirits in camp and conducted a sort of running battle with the men and with Frederick Austin, the post trader. A political appointee, Austin looked to his friends in Washington to support him in his practice of selling whisky at the sutler's store. Undaunted by Whitside's protestations against the sale of whisky, Austin had the gall to complain to him when troopers were slow in paying for the booze. Weary, Whitside called in his First Sergeant and told him to "take care of it." "Let the ladies of the post know about it too," he added.

Overnight, Austin's trade fell off. He huffed and puffed, and wrote lengthy letters to his patrons in Washington. To no avail. Three months later, broke but chastened, Austin left Huachuca. Displaying what might in the circumstances be termed normal insight, his successor stocked the sutler's store with everything but whisky.

Drunkenness and debauchery were not without a comic side. Early construction at Huachuca was supervised by Captain E.B. Hubbard, a capable engineer but a boozier. After a particularly noisy and disruptive session with the bottle, he was ushered into the presence of the post commander, Capt. T.C. Tupper, who preferred charges. Before Hubbard's case came to trial, he submitted a statement promising to abstain from liquor for the remainder of his army career.

Brave and noble words, but he slipped. Several months later, Captain Daniel Madden sat in the post commander's chair and was surprised to see Hubbard brought before him on a drunk and disorderly charge. This time Hubbard brought in a clergyman to witness his promise to forego spirits. An amiable and reasonable individual, Madden let Hubbard go.

In the fall of 1883, Captain Adna Romanza Chaffee was post commander. To no one's surprise, Hubbard was brought before Chaffee on another charge of inebriation. Once more the toper vowed to mend his ways, but Chaffee was made of sterner stuff. The charges stuck. Hubbard then submitted a written statement claiming that since the Fort Huachuca water supply was contaminated and unfit for human consumption, he was forced to drink whisky to kill the germs. While mildly amused, Chaffee was unrelenting. Seeing the futility of his position, Hubbard resigned from the service. An

unfortunate man, Hubbard nonetheless left his mark upon Huachuca in an enduring way. Most of his structures, superbly designed, still stand in the old post area of Fort Huachuca.

Drinking was frequently the reason for a more serious act - desertion. Desertions increased after paydays and fell off when the men were engaged actively in some stimulating pursuit. Desertion rates varied, and, at one point in 1878, 10 percent of the command were "over the hill." Commanders seemed forever to be issuing circulars to the sheriffs in surrounding towns, like the one sent to minions of the law in Tombstone, Bisbee, Charleston, Benson and Fairbank in 1883 by Capt. Adna R. Chaffee:

"Current deserter Private William Megehee left last night with a government rifle and horse. Twenty-five dollars are offered for the return of Pvt. Megehee and rifle, thirty dollars for the horse."

One had not to ponder long to appreciate Chaffee's sense of values. Now and then a peace officer would come to the post stockade with the body of a soldier slung over the hindquarters of a horse. Relating that the individual had been killed resisting arrest, the lawman would claim his reward. As there was no way to prove otherwise, generally the reward was paid with no questions asked.

Sometimes malfeasance and honor crossed paths. In 1882 four certificates of merit were issued to Fort Huachuca troopers who had distinguished themselves in battle. Two of the rewards were returned; the men had deserted.

Huachuca was not unique with its drinking and desertion problems. The entire army was plagued with the twin curse. In 1871 the desertion rate was 32 percent of the assigned strengths of posts tallied, and at Fort Sully, Wyoming, things "improved" when the post surgeon reported that 70 soldiers had taken a pledge of total abstinence.¹

Enlisted men were by no means the only offenders where drink was concerned. The records show that overindulgence and hell-raising by officers were fairly common in places like Fetterman, Casper, Phil Kearney, Rice, and Fort Reno.

The foregoing should not be interpreted as a blanket indictment of Fort Huachuca's early soldiers. Certainly the problems existed, and they were serious. Just the same, capable and efficient commanders would not, and did not, tolerate drinking or any activity which interfered with the proper performance of duty. Most bad actors

generally ousted themselves from the service. Records of courts-martial do exist and sometimes tend to present a false and one-sided picture of life on frontier military establishments.

Karl Von Clausewitz, the Prussian General who espoused the concept of total war, also wrote that a nation generally got the sort of army it deserved, namely that it reflected the best and worst elements of the society which produced it. Hence, the frontier army of the United States in 1880 was like the Prussian Army of Clausewitz in the first years of the 19th century - composed of stalwarts and weaklings, cowards and heroes, teetotalers and tipplers, good men and bad, as in any army since the beginning of time. If an overall assessment of the frontier army should be called for, it ought to reflect the positive. Surely its hard-working, dedicated individuals, existing in primitive conditions and performing courageously against sometimes insuperable odds, are deserving of the just credit which is theirs.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Major General George Crook. Photo is from the Matthew Brady Civil War Collection, and is a fine one rarely used.

CHAPTER 6

THE LINES ARE DRAWN

One of the most significant and interesting sagas of frontier Arizona history was the Geronimo Campaign of May - September 1886. Fort Huachuca played a prominent role in that episode; it is necessary, in recounting the history of the post, to offer in detail the circumstances surrounding its involvement in the campaign. Some background is required and is offered herewith.

General Crook commanded the Department of Arizona from 1871 until 1875, subduing the Apaches and removing them to reservations where they might be cared for and controlled. For this singular service he had been idolized by a grateful Territorial citizenry and promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. In the spring of 1875, he was ordered to the Department of the Platte, and so, for the next seven years, had nothing to do with things in Arizona.

In his absence Arizona was plunged again into turbulence and bloodshed. Emigrant trains were intercepted by Apaches and the travelers killed. Settlers were ambushed and slaughtered. Isolated communities were terrorized. In 1882, therefore, Crook was returned to Arizona to restore order.

It was not an easy task. Masters of their environment, embittered by decades of mistreatment by scalp and bounty-hunters, and hostile to the encroachment of settlers, the Apaches proved able and implacable foes. Whenever pursued closely by U.S. troops, the Indians sought sanctuary in Mexico and so escaped punishment until the reactivation of reciprocity agreements between the U.S. and Mexico concerning uninterrupted pursuit of hostiles. Such evasion of punishment enraged residents of Southeastern Arizona who, although dependent upon the army, maligned it bitterly in the press. To compound matters the Indian Bureau, frequently staffed with inefficient and corrupt agents, made the army's task difficult, if not impossible.

Remarkably, Crook began to make progress despite the odds against him. Not a vindictive man, he treated Apaches with

consideration, so that many, weary of the endless fighting, turned themselves in to Crook's gathering points. The most recalcitrant warrior of all, Geronimo, delayed his surrender but came into the reservation in the spring of 1884. He might have stayed on indefinitely, exerting salutary influence upon his people, but fancied slights and alleged threats by his peers, and an insatiable urge to return to the way of the warrior prevailed. He left the camp.

On May 14, 1885, a bunch of truculent braves went on a tiswin spree and, when admonished by Lieutenant Britton Davis, got roaring drunk. Davis wired Crook immediately, but his message was pigeonholed in San Carlos by Captain Francis C. Pierce, who took Scout Al Sieber's word that things would quiet down. They didn't.

On the 17th Geronimo left the reservation with 32 warriors and about 100 women and children. Troops were sent out immediately from Bowie, San Carlos, and Fort Huachuca; to no avail. Traveling fast and unencumbered by gear, Geronimo's band disappeared into the mountains and began a series of bloody raids throughout the area. The savagery long dormant in Apache breasts burst like flood waters through a weakened dam, and Geronimo left a trail of murder, arson and pillage in his wake.

Five men were killed by Geronimo's people near Silver City, New Mexico, and Capt. Daniel Madden chased a band of Indians from the Upper Gila to a point near Fort Bayard. A rumor circulated that a force of 450 Apaches, Navajos, Utes, and Paiutes were preparing to unite under Geronimo. The rumor was false, but the residents of Arizona and New Mexico were terrified.

Crook put troops from Bowie at Stein's Pass and others from Huachuca at the entrance to Guadalupe Canyon. They were to intercept Geronimo's raiders should the latter recross the line from Mexico to hit Arizonan and New Mexican settlements. The tactic failed; Geronimo vanished. For the next 10 months though, he would plunder the countryside in bold attacks on both sides of the border.

The daring strikes by Geronimo's band kept American and Mexican troops constantly on the move. Not long after the New Mexican incident, a band of 11 braves recrossed the line from Sonora into Arizona killing 38 whites and a number of "mansos" (tame Apaches). In this raid they captured over 200 head of stock and ran the herd into Mexico.

The endurance of Apache warriors was incredible. Where American soldiers depended upon at least a modicum of solid food



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Geronimo, Photo taken by A. Frank Randall in 1886.

taken at reasonable intervals, Apaches could subsist upon field mice, snakes, roots and cactus plants. Occasionally, they would butcher a stolen steer and gorge like anacondas. Where the troopers carried standard issue canteens and drank potable water, the Apache used a greasy sheep-gut canteen, haphazardly scraped and tied off at either end with a thong. At 120 degrees of heat in mid-summer, the water was indescribable, but it served. All of this would have been bad enough for the warriors, but, remarkably, their women and children shared the same rations.

On the morning of January 10, 1886, while patrolling in Mexico, Captain Emmett Crawford surprised a band of hostiles on the Rio Aros some 60 miles from its junction with the Bavispe. In this fracas, Crawford captured a number of Indian ponies and was able to make off with, or destroy, a considerable amount of camp gear. Demoralized, Geronimo, Natchez and Chihuahua moved to parley with Crawford, probably to discuss favorable terms for surrender. Fate intervened.

At daybreak on the 11th, a force of Mexican irregulars, for whatever reason impelled them, attacked Crawford's camp. Amazed, Crawford ran forward protesting that he commanded an American force pursuing the mutual enemy, Geronimo. Lieutenants Maus and Shipp and Chief of Scouts Dan O'Leary were calling to the Mexicans also. Momentarily the firing stopped. Crawford scrambled to a rock, where he might be seen, to address the Mexicans. A single shot rang out. Crawford tumbled to the ground, a bullet in his head.

A pitched battle followed. Troopers and Indian scouts killed the Mexican commander, his chief lieutenant and 15 men, and wounded 20 others. Ironically, the objects of the chase, the Apaches, watched in amazement from the sidelines. Crawford lingered until January 17th, dying in the arms of his lieutenant, Marion P. Maus. He was buried temporarily in Nacori. In March his body was disinterred and taken to Kearny, Nebraska, for permanent burial.

With the punctilio so dear to the Latin heart, Ramon Corral, standing in for the governor in Hermosillo, gave permission for the removal of Crawford's body. Addressing Crook he wrote:

My dear Sir, in the absence of the governor of this state, I have the honor to answer your messages sent to him with reference to the disinterment of Capt. Crawford. I have wired the prefect of Moctezuma as follows: Upon the application of Gen. George Crook, permission is given to disinter the body of Capt.



Capt. Emmett Crawford, 3rd U.S. Cavalry. Killed by Mexican soldiers in January, 1886.

Emmett Crawford killed in an encounter between American forces and those of the State of Chihuahua, and which is buried in Nacori.... You will please request all authorities and military commanders in this district to lend any assistance to the person whom Gen. Crook may charge with the execution of this task.¹

The propriety of the note did not impress Crook, and he made no bones about his belief that the killing of Crawford "was no accident." When an affidavit was offered by Mexican officials, Crook replied to the effect that Mexican officials would not hesitate to give any sort of paper, if it would clear them of complicity.

In any case Maus resumed talks with Geronimo, and the Indian agreed to meet with Crook "in two moons." The meeting was held at Canyon de los Embudos,² Sonora, a place on the Sonora-Chihuahua border about 20 miles south of the international line. Perhaps the most memorable records of the parley are the oft-displayed photos taken by Camillus Fly of Tombstone. One is offered here with identification of individuals present.

Crook's meeting with Geronimo at Canyon de los Embudos is interesting because official records of the proceedings reveal the character of both men: Crook the righteous, outraged, but patient and fair avenger; Geronimo the wily, cunning, devious but cornered, man, searching for an opening which would afford him and his people the best terms possible.

In his initial report to General Sheridan, made on the afternoon of March 26th, Crook characterized the hostiles as "independent, pitiless brutes, fierce as so many tigers,"³ adding that the only terms Geronimo would accept were his own. On the 27th the parties met again, and Crook warned Geronimo that he must surrender unconditionally or prepare to fight until he and all of his warriors were killed, even if it might take 50 years.

Crook outlined the alternatives. Geronimo might choose between exile in Florida for his people for a term not to exceed two years, return to the reservation as wards of the government, or resist to the bitter end. After some palaver Geronimo selected the first proposal, adding that he would have to think about it a little more. Eventually this was the agreement reached. Geronimo had no way of knowing, nor did Crook, that higher authority in Washington would abrogate



The famous Crook-Geronimo photo taken by Camilus S. Fly at Canyon De Los Embudos, March 25, 1886. Left to Right: Lt. William F. Shipp, Capt. C. S. Roberts, Geronimo, Concepcion, Nana, Noche, Lt. Marion P. Maus, Jose Maria, Antonio Besias, Jose Montoyo, Capt. John Gregory Bourke, Gen. Crook, Charlie Roberts.

it, keeping the Indians in Florida for years. Once headed into exile, Geronimo never again saw Arizona.

Any participant in a confrontation of this sort comes to the bargaining table with a point of view. In Crook's eyes Geronimo was a malevolent savage, and the general had referred to him as "the tiger of the human species." And with reason. A chunky, dark-faced individual, with cruel eyes and a slit of a mouth, Geronimo had killed numerous people since his escape from the reservation, frequently resorting to the most fiendish tortures before killing his captives. Many of these unfortunates were slowly roasted alive, suspended over the coals head down while screaming for mercy. Some were forced to walk over blistering sands with the soles of their feet cut off, others made to face the sun with eyelids sliced away, and some daubed with honey and spread-eagled over an ant hill.

Crook knew this, had proof of it, and confronted Geronimo with it. The cunning Indian changed the subject.

I was living peacefully on the reservation with my family, having plenty to eat, sleeping well, taking care of my people and was perfectly contented....I hadn't killed a horse or a man, American or Indian....The people in charge said I was a bad man, the worse one there...do not blame me. Blame the men who started the talk about me. When I learned from the American and Apache soldiers, from Chato and Mickey Free that the Americans were going to hang me, then I left....⁴

Geronimo went on, interminably it seemed to Crook, evoking in poetic language the spirits of light and darkness, God and the sun, and calling to the earth-mother for help in the bringing of peace to all men.

There are very few of my men left now. They have done some bad things, but I want them all rubbed out now and let us never speak of them again....What is the matter that you don't speak to me and look with a pleasant face? It would make better feeling. I would be glad if you did. I would be better satisfied if you would talk to me once in a while. Why don't you look at me and smile at me?⁵

In the light of Apache depredations, and with vivid memories of mutilated corpses left rotting on the trail by Geronimo, Crook could

scarcely contain himself, yet the issue was larger than his personal feelings. In a controlled voice he answered:

Why have you killed innocent people, sneaking all over the country to do it? What did they do that you should kill them, steal their horses, and slip around in the rocks like coyotes? You promised me in the Sierra Madre that peace should last, but you lied. When a man has lied to me once, I want better proof than his word before I can believe him again.⁶

The exchange went on at great length, with Crook unable to budge Geronimo from the position of the self-righteous, put-upon individual whose troubles stemmed from the actions of others. If Geronimo was a tough and independent holdout, Chihuahua and Natchez were ready to call it quits. And if Geronimo's language had the classic ring of the rustic poet, Chihuahua's words were more expressive still.

I think the sun is looking down upon me and the earth is listening. It seems to me I have seen the one who makes the rain and sends the winds. He must have sent you to this place. I surrender because I believe in you and you do not deceive us....There are many men in the world who are big chiefs and command many people, but you, I think, are the greatest of them all. I want you to be a father to me and treat me as your son. I am in your hands. Do with me as you please.⁷

Before Crook could reply to this florid and embarrassing testimonial, Natchez took the floor.

What Chihuahua says, I say. I surrender to you just the same as he did. I give you my word. I give you my body. I throw myself at your feet. You now order and I will obey. I think it is best for us not to remain out in the mountains like fools. I hope you will be kind to us, as you have always been a good friend to the Indians and tried to do what was right for them....⁸

Here Natchez reached out, taking Crook's hand and pumping it vigorously. Geronimo, finding himself isolated by his fellows, stood and said: "I surrender also. Once I moved like the wind. Now I must surrender. That is all. I don't want anyone to say any wrong thing

about me. I would like Kaetena and Alchisay to speak a few words."⁹

Kaetena declined, saying: "Let Alchisay speak for me. I have a sore throat."¹⁰ Alchisay, army scout by profession but Apache at heart, spoke these dignified words:

They have all surrendered. There is nothing more to be done. I am mad with Captain Bourke because he is writing down what I say. I am not a captain but a small man. What I say don't count. I don't want you have any bad feelings about the Chiricahuas. I am glad they have surrendered because they are all one family with me....You know me well. I have never told you a lie. I tell you now that the Chiricahuas really want to do what is right and live in peace. If they don't, then I lie, and you must not believe me any more.¹¹

It seemed as though the long chase was over, with nothing remaining but the trip back to Fort Bowie with the captives in tow. It was not to be. Gen. Crook took his leave with orders to his subordinates to bring the Indians in. The Chiricahuas withdrew for a short distance and settled down around their campfires in preparation for the evening meal.

Bob Tribolet, who had a contract with the army to supply beef, had a camp near San Bernardino Springs on the border in which he kept and sold supplies, whisky among them. On the evening of March 27th, sometime after the conclusion of the parley, he came into camp with some mescal and whisky which he sold to Geronimo and his companions.

Traditionally, Indians were poor but willing drinkers. Besides, the day had not gone well for the braves, sulking before their fires. Soon the place was a shambles. All of the good intentions of Natchez and Chihuahua, and the reluctant acquiescence of Geronimo faded in the sting of raw and fiery liquor. Lieutenant Maus sent Lt. William Ewen Shipp to confiscate the drink, but the damage was done. All of the Apaches were roaring drunk. Later on towards dawn, 20 men, 13 women, and six boys and girls slipped out of camp and headed back into the mountains of Mexico. Chihuahua had enough of running though; with 12 other braves he remained in camp, hung over and out of it.

This remarkable turn of events cost Crook his job, although at his own request. Whether he might have stayed on without asking to be



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Natchez, war chief of the Chiricahuas. Son of Cochise and grandson of Mangas Colorado. Signal Corps photo 87759.

relieved is debatable. There can be no doubt that he was hurt that Sheridan should regard him so lightly after his years of exemplary service in Arizona Territory. Wrote Sheridan: "Your dispatch of yesterday received. It has occasioned great disappointment. It seems strange that Geronimo and party could have escaped without knowledge of the scouts."¹²

Still, Sheridan had not fired Crook, but his next communication was patronizing.

I do not know what you can now do except to concentrate your troops at the best points and give protection to the people....You have in your department 46 companies of infantry and 40 troops of cavalry, and ought to be able to do a great deal with such a force. Please send me a statement of what you contemplate for the future.¹³

Stung, Crook answered his superior, writing:

I believe that the plan upon which I have conducted operations is the one most likely to prove successful in the end. It may be, however, that I am too much wedded to my own views in this matter and as I have spend nearly eight years of the hardest work in my life in this department, I respectfully request that I may be relieved from its command.¹⁴

Crook's resignation set the stage for assumption of command by Brigadier General Nelson Appleton Miles, who arrived at Bowie Station on April 11 to take over. That evening, after dining with Crook, Miles wrote to his wife Mary: "Gen. Crook leaves tomorrow. He appears to feel very much disappointed, but does not say much."¹⁵

In assessing the Geronimo Campaign, it is necessary to compare Crook with Miles. Crook was casual in his dress and was rarely found in uniform during his Apache days, preferring to wear civilian attire topped off with a pith sun helmet. He slouched and did not fit the classic description of a soldier. A teetotaler, but no prude, he was easygoing and relaxed. Nonetheless, he was a brilliant and astute officer. He was respected by his subordinates and by his adversaries.

Miles, on the other hand, was a "spit and polish" soldier. Immaculate in dress, haughty and reserved, commanding in nature, he held himself aloof from his officers and men. Where Crook liked and trusted his Apache scouts, Miles disdained them, and in this he



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Brigadier General Nelson Appleton Miles, Commander, Department of Arizona, during Apache Campaign of 1886. Photo is from Matthew Brady Civil War Collection and portrays a younger "boyish-looking" Miles as a brevet Major General, National Archives photo B-4995.

was backed by Gen. Sheridan. Miles soon dismissed the scouts, except for a few employed as trackers with units in the field. The key to his repugnance concerning Apaches is seen in this passage of his memoirs.

In July 1886 I found at Fort Apache over 400 men, women, and children belonging to the Chiricahua and Warm Springs Indians, and a more turbulent, desperate, disreputable band of human beings I had never seen before. When I visited their camp, they were having drunken orgies every night. It was perfect pandemonium.¹⁶

It should be noted that Miles had about twice as many soldiers to work with, some 6,000, or about one quarter of the entire strength of the United States Army in 1886, as against 3,000 or so for Crook. The comparison is academic, however, since both generals were chasing 33 warriors and 100 women and children.

Miles was fully aware that he would be expected to succeed where Crook had failed. At all odds he must bring in Geronimo, dead or alive. Looking at his command, he selected Captain Henry Ware Lawton at Fort Huachuca, as the individual best suited to mount a successful campaign against the renegades. Lawton, commanding B Troop, 4th Cavalry at Huachuca, already had considerable experience in Indian fighting under Crook. He had been a noncommissioned officer in the Civil War and won the Medal of Honor for heroism at Atlanta as a captain in the 30th Indiana Infantry. He was brevetted colonel by the war's end in 1865. From 1871 to 1879 he served under Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie in the 4th Cavalry. Miles probably could not have chosen a more capable individual for the special operation contemplated.

General Order Number 7, issued at Fort Bowie on April 20, 1886, listed the general outline for Lawton's assignment. The chief object, of course, was the capture or destruction of all hostile Indians operating in the area. Cavalry would be employed in light scouting parties, with sufficient force held in readiness to make punishing strikes wherever possible. "A command should," read the directive, "under a judicious leader, capture a band of Indians or drive them from 150 to 200 miles in 48 hours through country favorable for cavalry movements...."

So much for the "school solution." The trouble was that Geronimo frequently led his pursuers through country too rough and

precipitous for horses. As it turned out, men walked as much or more than they rode, and cavalry troopers became infantrymen.

Late in April, Miles went to Fort Huachuca to make final plans for the campaign. Colonel Royall suggested a war party of 90 men. Miles and Lawton thought the figure excessive, agreeing that no more than 75 men should take the trail. As first organized, the command was made up of 35 men from B Troop, 4th Cavalry, 20 foot soldiers of the 8th Infantry, and 20 Indian scouts. Two pack trains would go along to carry provisions.

Lawton personally selected the cavalymen, going up and down the line at formations, asking questions, inspecting gear. He wanted the toughest men in the regiment, and he got them. Legend has it that members of Lawton's command were supermen, negotiating every phase of the campaign, from beginning to end. Not so. Leonard Wood, Lawton's second in command, was to write later:

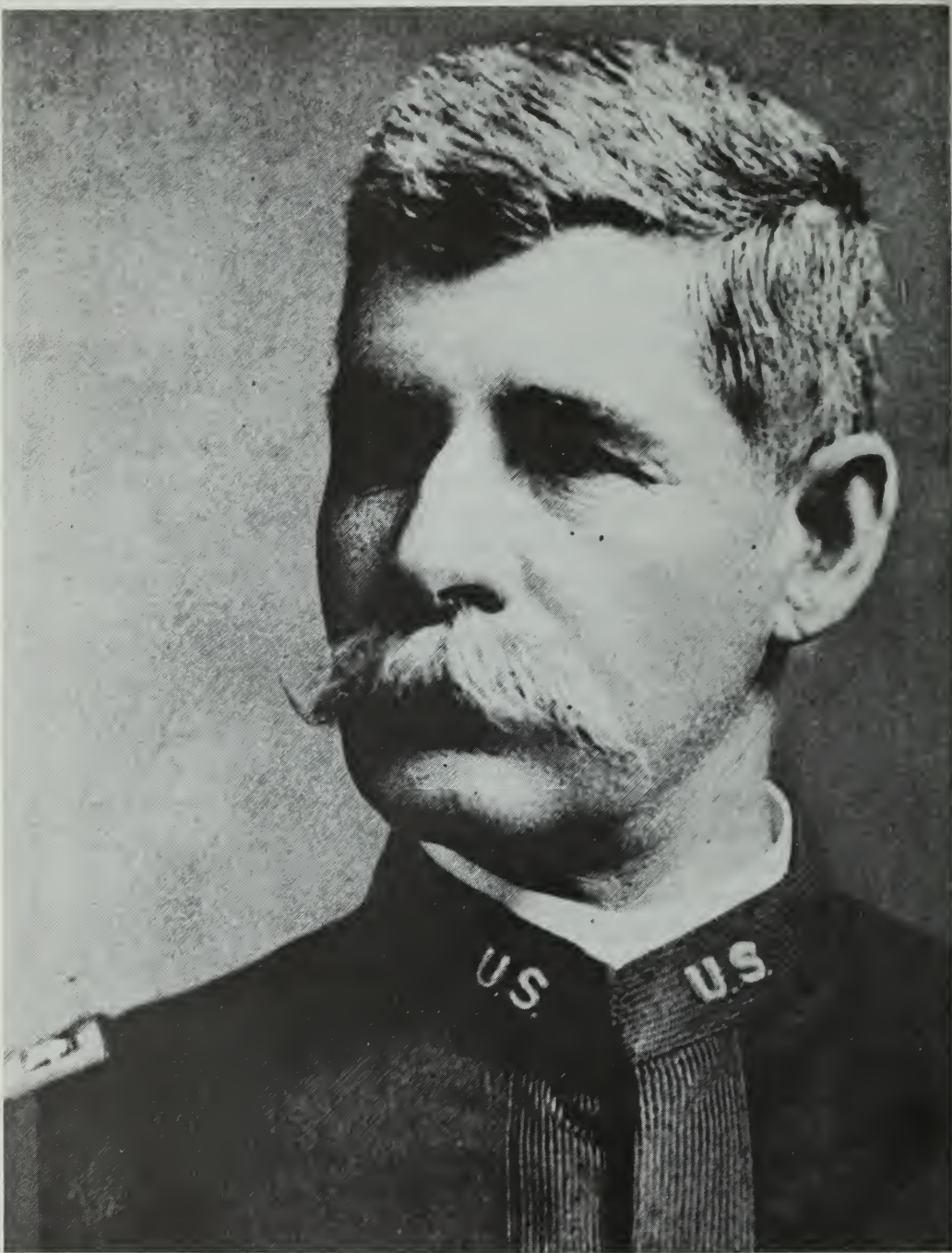
Although the men for this expedition were picked with the greatest care, only about one-third of them endured the long fatigue, and we had practically three sets of officers. Only Lawton and I of the whole command went through the entire campaign from beginning to end.¹⁷

While these preparations were going on at Huachuca, Geronimo was not idle. On April 27th he came north out of Mexico and made a series of hit and run raids in southern Arizona. He was pursued by several special task forces but eluded each of them.

On May 3rd Captain Thomas C. Lebo, leading K Troop, 10th Cavalry, overtook a portion of Geronimo's band in the Pinito Mountains of Northern Sonora and engaged it in a firefight. Lebo had started from Calabasas and caught up with Geronimo after a gruelling march of about 200 miles.

The fight was of a desperate nature, with Geronimo's men firing from fixed positions. Corporal Edward Scott was badly wounded and lay exposed to enemy fire. Lieutenant Powhatan H. Clarke ran to Scott's aid and, amidst a hail of rifle fire, pulled the wounded man to safety. For this brave act Clarke was awarded the Medal of Honor.

As the Lawton expedition got ready to stage from Huachuca, a flurry of messages were exchanged between Col. Royall and Gen. Miles. Mainly, these were queries as to the final makeup of the command and questions concerning the use of Indian scouts. On May 2nd Royall reported that Lawton was ready to start but that no



Captain Henry Ware Lawton, B Troop, 4th U.S. Cavalry. Leader of the Geronimo Campaign of May - September 1886, as a Brigadier General in the Philippines.

scouts or pack trains had arrived at Huachuca. Also, the only available unassigned officer was Lieutenant Benson. Miles instructed his Acting Assistant Adjutant General (A.A.A.G.), Captain Thompson, to send Lieutenant Robert D. Walsh and Lieutenant Hubbard to report to Lawton at once.

Lieutenant Samson L. Faison queried Miles about enlisting Apache scouts and for authority to hire an interpreter and a chief of scouts. Lieutenant John A. Dapray informed the Department Chief Quartermaster, Kimball, that Lieutenant Neall would supply Lawton with "regular supplies and commissary funds in any amount he may need."¹⁸ These and similar messages flooded the wires in the final days of preparation.



Col. William Bedford Royall. Commanding Officer, 4th U.S. Cavalry and Fort Huachuca during the Geronimo Campaign of May - September 1886.

CHAPTER 7

A FRUSTRATING BEGINNING

As Miles prepared to send Lawton against Geronimo, information concerning the movement of hostiles came pouring in from all over the territory. Skirmishes with these bands would involve not only Lawton and his subordinate Wood, but equally capable officers like Lebo, Keyes and Davis of the 10th Cavalry, Chaffee and Kerr of the 6th, and others from the several infantry regiments scattered throughout the area.

On April 21st Miles notified his A.A.A.G. that he was to order one company of infantry to the vicinity of Cochise stronghold in the Dragoons and another to Antelope Springs, as it had been reported that Indians had been raiding a few miles south of the border. Captain Joseph H. Dorst was to take K Troop, 4th Cavalry, and scout out of Fort Huachuca.

As is usual, those far away from the scene tended to minimize the concerns of those immediately engaged. The Commander, Department of the Pacific, voiced his intention to reduce patrolling activity in southeastern Arizona, but Gen. Miles warned against it. "In view of the present state of affairs, I would not advise any reduction of the present force needed to cover a line some 300 miles in extent, and to protect the country adjacent thereto."¹

Miles was justified in his view; reports kept pouring in. On May 1st Capt. Lebo struck a trail of Apaches in the Pajarito Mountains, the trail leading toward Cananea and Sierra Azul. He sent a dispatch to Col. Royall at Huachuca, and Royall wired Miles immediately. Britton Davis wired Royall from Imuris that he was pursuing hostiles north toward Nogales. "I have three days rations left, and my horses need re-shoeing."²

Royall informed Miles, a day or two later, that five men had been killed by Apaches in the Planchos and Arizona Creek country. The same band had skirmished with Mexicans twice, killing four and wounding six in the first encounter, and running off 26 horses in the

second. As the band was estimated at 80 warriors, concern was genuine.

On May 16th Thompson wired Royall, directing him to send out troops after Apaches seen south of Fort Huachuca. The party, about 70 strong, were headed for Fronteras. While properly concerned, Miles doubted that the Apaches had that many men. "I think the number of Indians has been exaggerated. Hatfield has recovered all but two of the horses from the May 15th fight, and has been directed to start again after the hostiles."³ Royall sent out troops but they returned empty-handed.

On May 20th Major Eugene B. Beaumont, 4th Cavalry sent a heliograph message to Thompson at Bowie from heliograph station number three. In it he stated that Colonel Shafter's troops were the only ones near enough a band reported in the Dragoon Mountains to pursue and intercept them. "I have no troops within 40 miles of Middle Pass, and can not send Baldwin or Wilder as it would leave the Chiricahuas entirely uncovered....Budd, Wheeler, and Eggleston are watching country from Castle Dome to north end of Swissshelms on west side."⁴

from Turkey Creek that Natchez' mother had gone out several days earlier in the company of another squaw to communicate with the hostiles, presumably in an effort to prevail upon him to surrender. Mills made no mention of Read's news concerning Natchez' mother in his report to Lieutenant Colonel Wade at Fort Apache. Instead, he wrote in vexatious mood that he had ordered Lieutenants Read, Watson, and Freeman back from Fort Apache, seeing that one had taken a wagon without his consent, another had moved a family and all of its household plunder in the midst of a campaign, and the third had overloaded a wagon so that it broke down and was rendered useless. Peevishly the major concluded his message:

Apache has three troops of cavalry and one company of infantry. I have 16 men. If there are no more Indians expected here, this is all well enough, but I wish the general to understand exactly my situation....⁵

In a letter to Thompson written on May 29th, Lt. Col. Wade wrote that he had just finished talking with Natchez' mother and her companion, both of whom assured him that they were certain the Indians would communicate soon about surrender, if not followed too closely. "How much of this is talk, I don't know. I have given



Nah-Thle-Tla, the mother of Natchez.

each a letter informing any troops they might meet of what they are doing, and directing them that they be allowed to proceed. Natchez' mother says it may take her several days to find the hostiles, but if they remain about, she will find them."⁶

While Wade was dealing with the mother of Chief Natchez, officials at Fort McDowell were informing Capt. Thompson of another development. A man had come into McDowell from Fort Apache via Tonto Basin reporting great concern throughout the valley on account of a huge gathering of Indians drinking heavily and doing the war dance. The man bearing this news was not identified and left McDowell shortly after his arrival. Nothing developed concerning the alleged gathering of Apaches, and, on 30 May, Wade wired Thompson: "I am convinced that no Indians have left the reservation."⁷

An equally reassuring note came from Colonel Forsyth at Huachuca, who wired that Captain McAdam has scouted the country between Fort Huachuca and Nogales and around Casita, finding no fresh trails. Accordingly, he concluded that "reports of Indian depredations hereabout are without foundation."⁸

Stories of the flare-up at Apache persisted, and, on June 9th Miles wired Thompson to contact Col. Wade at once to see if any Indians had left the reservation at Apache, since hostiles were reported in the vicinity of Benson and around Fairbank, just a few miles northeast of Huachuca. He directed Thompson to have Doane and troop at Antelope Valley ready should the hostiles move east or southeast. John J. Ginn wired Gen. Miles from Nogales on June 14th that the presence of Apaches near Sierra Azul traveling toward Bacoachi indicated that the "Hegira" had begun. Captain Pierce, up at San Carlos, informed Thompson that he was certain none of the 3,000 Indians in the vicinity of the agency had left the reservation, adding that some Indian scouts had departed for Huachuca and ought to be there soon.

Ironically, it was not thousands of Indians which were causing the trouble, rather small bands of six or eight here and there, and one of about 136 men, women and children under Geronimo. Troops of cavalry from all over the territory were on his trail. It is time to look at the pressure put upon him by the troopers of Fort Huachuca.

CHAPTER 8

THE RESULTS HAVE BEEN INDECISIVE

On Wednesday, May 5, 1886, Lawton's expeditionary force formed on the parade ground at Huachuca. With Lawton were Captain Leonard Wood, Lieutenant Robert A. Brown, 4th Cavalry, and Lieutenant Henry Johnson with a detachment of the 8th Infantry. The mules had arrived, and two pack trains were formed. Twenty Indian scouts completed the little army.

Excitement filled the air, with the animals moving restlessly, packers checking gear, and the band playing spirited music. Families and friends lined the parade ground waving goodbyes and calling out endearments. It was time to move out. As the band played "The Girl I Left Behind Me," the column rode slowly out of camp, down the slope toward the north, then swinging west to head for the Santa Cruz Valley.

On arriving in Nogales, Lawton turned south and headed into Mexico. From Imuris he reported to Gen. Miles that he had followed the trail of Apaches who had engaged Lebo earlier, and with scouts, infantry and dismounted cavalry had made a chase. The trail was large, but scouts could not give Lawton an accurate estimate of the numbers which had made it, repeating only the words, "many horses." Worse, as the trail led into high ground, Apaches had fired the grass, and the main trail petered out.

Several small trails branched off the main trail, and the scouts gave positive information on several of these. A scout told Lawton that 16 Indians had "passed this way," but that moccasin tracks revealed the quarry were women and children. In this chase the dismounted troopers came upon six dead horses, ridden to death by the Apaches and left rotting on the trail. Also, near the poor beasts were the bodies of two Mexican prospectors, dead for several days when found.

Lawton believed the trail led to Sierra Azul (The Blue Mountains) until it turned west and crossed the railroad between Imuris and Coyote. This trail showed a mounted force of about 40 Indians and



Fort Huachuca in 1886 at the time of the Lawton-Wood expedition. Photo shows hospital, reservoir, stables, barracks and officer's quarters.

unfortunately was a week old. Lawton now was working at a disadvantage. Chimney, his scout interpreter, had deserted, making communication with the scouts difficult. "Send me an interpreter," wrote Lawton. "It is important. He can join me in Casita."¹

On the following day Lawton wired Miles again from Imuris, saying that he was satisfied that no new trails were leading to the southwest. Apparently the hostiles had scattered near Imuris and joined up further on. In this communication Lawton rather plaintively asked whether the scouts "now held up as witnesses in the courts-martial at Fort Bayard may be made available to me?"² Miles got in touch with his adjutant immediately and directed him to send the Fort Bayard scouts to Lawton at once.

Lawton was traveling without Wood now, as on May 15th Royall reported Wood with a company of infantry nearing Bacanuchi, some 20 miles south of Cananea. Captain C.A.P. Hatfield, with D Troop, 4th Cavalry, was in the same general area and just about to get himself into a pickle. On May 15th, the same day as Royall's message concerning Wood's whereabouts, Hatfield had a running fight with about 30 Apache braves. In this protracted skirmish Hatfield had several men badly wounded, lost some horses, and came out of the scrap with a somewhat tarnished reputation. He was never brought to trial, nor should he have been, but he was called upon to issue a full and comprehensive report answering charges of cowardice and poor leadership. He was guilty of neither, but it was some time before he could clear himself of the charges.

It all began at about nine o'clock in the morning on May 15th when Hatfield's column was climbing a steep hill on the trail. As the point came around a bend, he saw an Apache camp about 300 yards away. Silently he swung about, returned to Hatfield and informed him of the enemy's presence. Hatfield had 36 men. He assigned four of these to hold horses and pack mules and deployed the others for attack. Unfortunately, some trooper dislodged a stone when nearing the camp, alerting the hostiles who began an immediate retreat.

"They began to climb, rapidly, a steep hill, 200 feet high, commencing at the base of their camp."³ The troopers continued in pursuit but were unable to reduce the distance between themselves and the fleeing Indians. As the Apaches were necessarily exposed in their scramble up the mountainside, several were hit, leaving bloodstains on the rocks.

The Indians, about 30 strong, seemed to be an even match for their pursuers. Upon gaining the summit they regrouped and offered resistance, but not for long. As Hatfield's men reached the crest, the Indians retreated once more. As both parties were on foot, Hatfield quit the chase and returned to the Indian camp. There he took 21 horses and mules, 15 saddles and some assorted camp gear. Laden with spoil, his column mounted up and started for the village of Santa Cruz, about ten miles away.

At first Hatfield moved slowly, dismounting 26 men and putting them in a line of skirmishers. After going about 12 miles in this fashion, he mounted all but 12 of his men and put these ahead at some distance from his riders. Three mounted men went out as flankers. Hatfield put 14 men in columns of twos, and six men were assigned to drive pack mules and the captured Indian horses.

At about noon and about five miles from Santa Cruz, the main body stopped to water horses. Having no way to know this and being out of sight, the noncom in charge of the skirmish line continued forward. According to Hatfield's report, the advance party had passed within feet of the hidden Indians, or had been equally unobservant in permitting the hostiles to slip in between the skirmish line and the main body. Suddenly Hatfield and the main body were fired upon. In a completely honest and realistic outburst, Hatfield's first words were: "My God! we are ambushed!"⁴ Writing about it later, the captain displayed a more controlled approach.

"When the volley came from the left and rear, I dismounted and ordered the men to do the same. Near me, Corporal Minick, Trumpeter Kolb, and the following named Privates began the fight: Cooney, Shellenburger, Rich, Still, Kelly, Old, Humble, Henderson, and Blume.⁵ In another bunch some distance away were Sergeant Schillinger, Privates Shaw and Chambers, Trumpeter Skinner, Saddler Klozack, and Blacksmith Conradi. These men were cut off and were able to join Hatfield only after a severe encounter with the Indians," who according to Hatfield, "were extremely bold and aggressive, frequently exposing themselves to our fire."⁶

Some time after the fight started, First Sergeant Adams came into the fracas with all of the advance party. He assigned Sergeant Craig and Private Gariman to hold horses and took the following men into

battle: Sergeant Pease, Corporal Zollinger, and Privates Breslin, Coughlan, Stone, Roberts, Champion, Wollring, and Todd.

Owing to the nature of the terrain, the fight was fluid; it seemed impossible to deliver telling fire from any fixed position. Hence, small parties of troopers seemed continually to be shifting about, going up and down ravines, cresting hills, and generally losing touch with other elements of the command. Indeed, this was one of the things which got Hatfield into difficulty with Col. Royall in Huachuca and for which he was called upon to explain in a special report.

Where the men were at all times I do not know. I myself was constantly shifting my position, always with about the same number of men. At the time, I was not aware that I did not have the same men with me always. They moved continually, changing position. Where they would go, I do not know. From the network of ravines cutting up our positions, there were parties of men, holding good positions, and entirely cut off from me....⁷

The sources of Hatfield's embarrassment were two Mexican guides riding with the column, Ramon Moreno and a man named Mendez. Hatfield had fired the two for cowardice, and they sought revenge. In Santa Cruz and in Nogales, they turned the story around and made it appear that Hatfield had left the scene of battle. Hatfield retaliated only in his report to Col. Royall.

At first I thought the guides only contemptible, but as their statements have reached some of the respectable papers of the country, I can only in justice to my men, make this report. At the first shot, the guides put spurs to their horses, and going at a run did not stop for an instant until arriving in Santa Cruz. They knew nothing of my fight. None of my men ran to Santa Cruz, or anywhere else....These Mexican guides were discharged by me for cowardice.⁸

Sadly, Hatfield's error was one of judgment. Moreno and Mendez had come to him under a cloud, having been fired by the army for cowardice in a similar situation on the San Pedro earlier. Electing to give the men a second chance, he came a cropper.

There was some room for misunderstanding by the guides regardless. Hatfield's command did not enter Santa Cruz as a body

but in groups of four and five. The guides may have had fuel for their charges when they saw Pvts. Gariman and Jantzen hobble into town carrying Sgts. Adams and Craig, both badly wounded.

Interestingly, few of Hatfield's soldiers had been in battle before. Several of the men had never fired a gun. Too, he may have been careless in permitting himself to be ambushed as he was expecting reinforcements. He had sent orders for Lt. Brown and I Troop to join him on the day of his ambush, May 15th. "As I told him I was going to have a fight, I fully expected him all day. Also, I fully expected aid from Santa Cruz, quite a town. With two troops I could have given the Indians a sound beating..."⁹

Brown did not come, and if Santa Cruz was "quite a town," its inhabitants did nothing to hurry to Hatfield's rescue, probably because they knew nothing of the struggle in the hills south of town. In any case it would seem that 36 troopers versus 30 Indians should make for a fair fight. The fight was inconclusive. Geronimo's men lost most of their horses and suffered several casualties. Hatfield had several men wounded. No one on either side was killed. Sergeant Samuel H. Craig was awarded the Medal of Honor for his part in the action, receiving the coveted award almost one year later on April 27, 1887.

In forwarding Hatfield's report to Miles, Col. Royall was charitable in his endorsement: "This report by Capt. Hatfield gives a fairer and more correct description of the fight of May 15th than his former account, which was written hurriedly and under excitement."¹⁰

So ended Hatfield's unfortunate episode. An unconfirmed legend holds that when Geronimo surrendered to Gen. Miles at Skeleton Canyon four months later, he wore Hatfield's blouse, tied to the saddle when Hatfield lost his horse.

While Hatfield was fighting and Lawton tracking the hostiles, others were in the field on similar missions. Britton Davis reported to Miles on May 15th, saying that he had scouted the country south of Nogales thoroughly, and had found numerous trails, mostly old. On the 14th he had met Lawton at Cucurpe on the San Miguel River, given him a trail to follow and headed north for Nogales to refurbish his command.

Leonard Wood reported finding a trail near Pantano on the 29th and following it until it disappeared into the rocks. It was heartbreakingly difficult to follow these trails. Sometimes they were easy to trace as when all of Geronimo's people were traveling



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Contact Surgeon Leonard Wood. Served throughout Geronimo Campaign of 1886. Became Chief of Staff, U.S. Army in 1910.

together. Mostly they were small, indicating the presence of only several Indians. Geronimo wisely split his forces, usually taking from 12 to 15 warriors with him and sending a comparable group off with Natchez. In battle such reduced forces would offer poor resistance to whole troops of cavalry, but Geronimo's game was escape, not confrontation. He played it superbly. Trails crisscrossed like those of rabbits disappearing in brush. Frequently Lawton, Wood and the others came upon their own trails, and, to make matters worse, summer rains washed away all trails in sheets of cascading water.

Sometimes the chase was hot, with troopers scrambling up one side of a mountain while hostiles tumbled down the other. Sometimes the adversaries were 100 miles apart, with neither side knowing where the other one was. The agony of pursuit seemed to tell more upon the soldiers than the Apaches. But the troopers could be replaced. Sick, weary, footsore, many returned to their home stations in Arizona for rest and recuperation. Horses needed constant reshoeing, and the poor jaded beasts which were unable to continue held up the pursuit until fresh mounts could be brought.

Geronimo's people suffered as keenly but had to keep moving. Many years later Geronimo would write: "We killed cattle to eat whenever we could, but suffered greatly for need of water. At one time we had none for two days and nights, and, our horses almost died of thirst."¹¹ Some did die of thirst, and when that happened, the renegades cooked and ate the horseflesh at the spot, cutting strips of it to eat later on.

Of all those who pursued Geronimo, none did so with more determination and perseverance than Lawton. But his task was complicated. In addition to making relentless pursuit, the single-minded captain had to attend to the normal duties of a troop commander. In June he was wiring Thompson irascibly from Calabasas that his pay rolls were not in order. His own Troop B had rolls and could be paid, but F Company, 1st Infantry, and D Company, 8th Infantry, had none, and the men could not be paid. Wrote Lawton in exasperation: "Lieutenant Finley has failed entirely to obtain any data whatever concerning his scouts; he can make no rolls, pay, discharge, or re-enlist any of them. Unless all men can be paid, I suggest no one be paid."¹²

Lawton sent Lt. Benson to Huachuca to get money for the troops. Benson became caught up in red tape. The Apache scouts were leery of checks and would not accept them. Those troopers paid by check



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Geronimo and Natchez. At Geronimo's right are his son and grandson. Photo taken by Camillus Fly of Tombstone, A.T.

were little better off, since Mexican storekeepers were as reluctant to take checks as the Apaches, with the result that men simply stuffed checks into pockets to become sweat-stained, dirty and torn. Benson contacted Kimball, the District Quartermaster, who wired back wanting to know the amounts due, and to whom, and for what period of time. The usual flap ensued with messages of justification flooding the wires. Lawton's men were paid eventually, but long after his initial complaint.

What the hard-pressed troopers would do with money in the wilds of Mexico is a poser. One assumes, however, that occasionally the column came upon some rude hamlet wherein the soldiers could trade greenbacks for goods of one sort or another.

On June 7th Royall reported Lawton as being about 30 miles below Santa Cruz at a place called Ojo de Agua. This would put him somewhere on a line between Magdalena and Cananea in rough country. He was out of rations, out of patience, and needed to replace some of his scouts. Luckily, Lt. Hughes was standing by at Huachuca with a fresh pack train and 30 scouts. These were sent to Lawton, and he resumed the pursuit.

Two weeks later Lawton was in the little town of Turicachi on the Nacozari River, reporting to Col. Royall in Huachuca. He informed Royall that he would stay in Turicachi until fresh troops and supplies should reach him. He told also of a company of Mexican soldiers coming into town and the commander, Captain Tuerros, offering to aid in the apprehension of Geronimo in any way possible.

News had come to Lawton from Matapora that one American and five Mexicans had been killed there several days earlier, and that an additional 15 Mexicans were killed in the Sonora Valley about 30 miles away.

"I am in no condition to push a trail now, as my stock is used up, and besides, I wish the Indians to think I have turned back. Then I may more readily surprise them"¹³ Lawton then made a number of specific requests which are interesting:

I want not less than 500 rations of hard bread to be used on my foot marches when I attempt to move on an Indian camp. At that time, no animals can accompany us and we must carry rations on our backs. We cannot have fires, so cannot bake flour....Please send some vinegar. I want it in cans. Old cans may be scoured and soldered by the post tinner. We cannot carry casks on our packs. They are

inconvenient. Also, when partially empty they leak and fall to pieces....¹⁴

To this list of needs, Lawton added a postscript asking for 12 haversacks and 12 canteen straps for use by his dismounted cavalry. He asked also for 200 pounds of baking power and a month's supply of bacon. He enclosed a note from H.C. Brown, his packmaster, which outlined the route supply wagons should take from Fort Huachuca, going by way of Ochoaville, Miller's Ranch on the Sonora River, Bacoachi and Cumpas.

On the 29th Col. Royall informed Miles that Lieutenant Guy Evans Huse, 4th Cavalry, had left Huachuca with 15 men and two wagons for the relief of Lawton. Huse would proceed up the San Pedro, cross over the Agua Prieta and Cabullona, and work down the Nacozari to Lawton's camp at Turicachi. This supply would last Lawton until early September. If Lawton had not caught up with Geronimo by then, Royall would recommend that the expedition be recalled and a new command sent out.

By July 6th Lawton was on the trail again, this time in a southwesterly direction toward Oposura and Tepache, the former place on the Nacozari just north of its junction with the Rio Moctezuma, and the latter in a valley between the Moctezuma and Yaqui Rivers. Geronimo had reportedly raided near Tepachi and killed several Mexican ranchers and their families. Seeing Oposura, Lawton thought it better suited as a supply camp than Turicachi or Cumpas and requested that supplies be sent to him at that point. Nothing would be lost. He left several men of B Troop in Cumpas to redirect the supply wagons.

When the supplies arrived, it was noted that the issue of bacon was short by about 500 pounds. Lawton put in an immediate request for 2,000 pounds of bacon, 1,000 pounds of flour, and 4,000 field rations. Wrote Lt. Harry C. Benson from Cumpas to Gen. Miles:

It will be impossible for Captain Lawton's command to do any work unless they had a fresh supply of salt meat sufficient to ration them at least two days in three....¹⁵

For more than three months, Lawton had trailed Geronimo but without success. During this time he and his men had covered hundreds of miles of the most wicked country, often in adverse circumstances. Still, the Indians were as exhausted as he, perhaps more so. He needed contact with Geronimo, and soon, on July 13th he had his chance.

It was Lawton's practice to keep two of his scouts several days ahead of his main column and to place riders between these two points and his positions. The lead scouts might thus locate enemy positions and send word back along the line. On the 13th scouts located Geronimo's camp on the Yaqui River, but in a defensive camp in which the Indian leader might feel reasonably secure. The small table land, upon which the camp was located, was on the river but surrounded by high cliffs to the rear. There were only two points of entrance to the camp: one down-river, one up-river.

Lawton's men were able to approach from the cliff side and peer down into the camp, about 2,000 feet below. Fires were burning, animals were grazing, and several Indians were splashing happily about in belly-deep water. The plan was to use scouts to seal off the steep cliffs, then move infantry into camp from the down-river approach. Surprise should have been simple. It was not.

As the infantry moved in, firing was heard coming from the camp. An alert Apache sentry had seen motion high in the rocks above him and fired. Within moments firing was general. Every man in camp fled, some along the up-river egress, some straight up the cliffs, miraculously evading the scouts in fixed positions above them. Arriving in the deserted village, Lawton found his scouts shooting at the Indian's stock and ordered them to stop firing. Actually the encounter, if such it might be termed, amounted to little, but Miles reported it to the Adjutant General in Washington via Headquarters, Division of the Pacific, in glowing terms:

Captain Lawton reports through Col. Royall, commanding at Fort Huachuca, that he surprised Geronimo's camp on the Yaqui River about 130 miles southeast of Cumpas, Sonora, nearly 300 miles south of the Mexican boundary, capturing all of the Indian property, including 19 riding animals and hundreds of pounds of dried meat. This is the fifth time in three months in which the Indians have been surprised by the troops. While the results have been indecisive, it has given encouragement to the troops, and reduced the numbers and strength of the Indians, and given them a feeling of insecurity even in the remote and inaccessible mountains of old Mexico.¹⁶

"While the results have been indecisive," indeed. After this abortive attempt to corral the hostiles, Miles changed his mind about the program of extermination by force of arms. He called upon

Lieutenant Charles Baehr Gatewood, 6th U.S. Cavalry, to find Geronimo and talk him into surrender. Gatewood joined Lawton on August 7th in the latter's camp on the Rio Aros, a tributary of the Yaqui River in Sonora. There will be more of Gatewood later on.

On August 11th Geronimo's band turned up about four miles from the Santa Rosa mine near Bacoache. There it waylaid six American miners, killing three and wounding two of the others. On the 14th the hostiles came to Rancho de Cuchuta but did not attack it. Instead they talked with some Mexican officials who recognized them but did not let on. The Indians left. Jose Rios, the Alcalde of Cuchuta, formed a party and gave chase. Rios overtook Geronimo several miles out of town but thought twice about attacking. Geronimo, armed and surrounded by his henchmen, asked Rios to arrange a parley to talk about surrender. The prefect of Fronteras would conduct the meeting.

The meeting was held on the following day. Although some of Geronimo's people spoke Spanish, the talks were conducted in both Spanish and Apache, with a man named Jose Elias acting as interpreter. After a lengthy session wherein both sides aired grievances, it was agreed that hostilities should be suspended for eight days. The Apaches departed.

Two days later on the 17th, two of Geronimo's women came into Fronteras for provisions. They bought some kitchenware and foodstuffs with greenbacks. If Lawton had difficulty in paying his men with U.S. currency, Geronimo apparently had no trouble in stealing it. One of the women, Felicitas, was fluent in Spanish and was communicative. The other, Cruz, appeared to be stupid and talked to no one. She was a "cut-nose" Apache.¹⁷ Both women were incredibly ugly. Ugly or not, judging by the general appearance and demeanor of these two, it could be seen that Geronimo's band was on its last legs.

The local Mexican official, seeing this and wanting to be the instrument through which Geronimo would offer surrender, gave Felicitas and Cruz some food and a considerable amount of mescal to take to Geronimo. On August 15th Lawton and Gatewood had learned of Geronimo's presence near Fronteras and hastened to intercept him there. By the time these two officers arrived in Fronteras, the squaws had left. Lawton, Gatewood, scout Tom Horn and Jose Maria Sota followed the hostile trail for a couple of days but lost it eventually.

On the 19th the Prefect of Arispe moved into Cuchuta with about 100 men. Simultaneously, 30 men came in from Ures under Captain Jose Figueroa and about 30 more from Moctezuma under Captain Vicente Silva. Smaller parties formed in the villages along Rio Sonora from Baviacora to Sinoquipe. In all, the task force numbered over 200 men.

Other forces were at work now. While it was hoped that Lawton might close in and take Geronimo, he had been unable to do so, and so another expedition set out from Huachuca to join the hunt. On the afternoon of Wednesday, August 18th, Lt. Col. George A. ("Sandy") Forsyth left the post with Troops A and E, 4th Cavalry, his force comprised of four officers, 100 men and a pack train. By 9 p.m. the column reached the San Pedro River at a point about 26 miles from Fort Huachuca. It rested there until the moon rose and it could make a safe crossing. Hours later Forsyth was 50 miles away from Huachuca on the San Pedro - Fronteras road and pushing hard.

The column left the road a few miles further on and took a trail through a pass in the Magdalena Mountains. The men camped about six miles from the trail's end, having covered 22 miles since leaving the resting place on Fronteras Road. Geronimo was a tough and seasoned campaigner; his pursuers could not afford to be less.

From his next camp on Cocospera Creek, Forsyth sent a guide to Cuchuta to inquire as to Geronimo's whereabouts. The courier returned with two Mexicans who informed Forsyth that Geronimo was still in camp about a mile east of Cuchuta. They agreed to lead Forsyth to the camp.

With moon rise at about 11 p.m., the column broke camp and marched for about 16 miles. Here Forsyth dismounted his men, and the company proceeded on foot. It was 3:30 a.m. After an hour's movement in semi-darkness, the skirmishers reached the edge of Geronimo's camp and, according to Forsyth, "rested on our arms until daylight."¹⁸

It was in vain. For all the good the stealth had accomplished, the troopers might as well have come crashing through the brush on mule-back. Geronimo was gone. Forsyth had taken a route which led him through Magellan Pass to avoid contact with Mexican forces "who might inform Geronimo of my approach."¹⁹ On arrival at Cuchuta he found about 40 Mexican volunteers and Lt. Gatewood with some Indian scouts. Gatewood had arrived on the previous evening, having covered 55 miles in a bone-crushing march of his own.



Lt. Col. George Alexander Forsyth, 4th U.S. Cavalry. Commanded Fort Huachuca from 21 June - 12 December 1885; 31 July 1886 - October 1887; 21 - 28 February 1888, 3 - 10 June, 1888.

At about 10 p.m. a courier came into Forsyth's camp informing him that Lieutenant Wilber Elliot Wilder was in Fronteras with Troops G and M, 4th Cavalry, and was awaiting instructions. Geronimo had come into Cuchuta on Friday, August 13, with what was left of his party. This included Mangas, 26 bucks and 14 squaws. He sent word that he wanted to form an alliance with the Mexicans against the American troops. The Alcalde refused the suggestion but told Geronimo that he would confer with his superiors and give a definite answer within several days.

It was Lt. Wilder who found the squaws, Felicitas and Cruz, buying supplies in Fronteras. Frightened, they started to run but were caught and proceeded to talk. From them Wilder learned that Geronimo's party was thoroughly worn out. According to Felicitas, Geronimo was badly wounded in his right arm and nearly blind. The women said that the constant harrying by U.S. troops had convinced all of the warriors that continued resistance was futile.

The women offered to take Wilder and an interpreter to Geronimo's camp, assuring the officer that he and his companion would be perfectly safe. Wilder was not so sure. He proposed that the women return to their leader and arrange for safe passage for him and two others. He gave them gifts of food and drink. With these and the stuff already given them by the Mexican official, the women left Fronteras.

Wilder then sent a note to Lawton at Cuchuta suggesting that he (Wilder) or Gatewood ought to accompany Lawton into Geronimo's camp. Lawton did not get the message, having left Cuchuta prior to the courier's arrival.

At about midnight a Mexican official, in the presence of Lieutenant Daniel N. McDonald, 4th Cavalry, came into Forsyth's camp and reported that the two squaws were drunk on the liquor given them by the prefect. Two of Geronimo's warriors had come into town looking for the women. McDonald was all for arresting the lot of them, but, after discussing the matter with the Mexican, Forsyth decided against it. The Mexican cautioned that Geronimo would not come in while U.S. troops were around. Wilder then asked if he might be present at a meeting between Geronimo and the Mexican force. He was refused, courteously but firmly. Clearly the Mexicans wanted Geronimo on their own terms.

Forsyth asked if Mexican surrender terms would include prohibition of Apache raiding into U.S. territory and was told that they would. He then sent a message to Lawton, suggesting that he

wait 48 hours to give Geronimo time to act upon Gen. Miles' proposal of unconditional surrender. "I think," wrote Forsyth, "that Geronimo will accept the terms offered, to the chagrin of the Mexican official who is a clever, shrewd man."²⁰

Forsyth then detailed Wilder to take D and E Troops back to Huachuca by easy stages and departed himself with A Troop, so as not to interfere with Gatewood who had the personal instructions of the Department Commander. Further, Forsyth felt Lawton "absolutely qualified" to settle the Geronimo matter, and he felt also that Lawton was entitled to the credit for capture because of the arduous campaign he had waged.

Forsyth arrived back in Huachuca on the 23rd and reported to Miles, through Major Beaumont, that Geronimo was in the mountains out of Fronteras and expecting trickery from the Mexican government. There can be no doubt that Geronimo was genuinely fearful of Mexican deceit. In a communication to his commanding officer at Huachuca, Lawton wrote on August 28:

...The Indians do not trust the Mexicans and are afraid they will try to play them false in some way. Any statement that they offered or wished to make terms with the Mexicans, the Indians say is false. Geronimo told me he moved away from Fronteras because he feared treachery on the part of the Mexicans....²¹

This is interesting because in letters dated August 24th and 25th to the Prefects of Arizpe and Ures, Sonora Governor Luis Torres authorized these officials to make terms with Geronimo. The Sonora State government would ensure the safety of Geronimo's entire party and put them in the protective custody of some community to be decided upon. No Indian would be executed, nor would the Mexican government turn any Indian over to the United States for crimes previously committed. Geronimo considered Torres' proposal and turned it down.

Miles was anxious to get Geronimo any way he could; he could not afford to repeat Crook's error. And he wanted Lawton to make the arrest if that were possible. He had placed great faith in the giant captain and everyone knew it. On August 21st he had written to Beaumont in Rucker Canyon ordering that all dispatches coming to him concerning Geronimo, from whatever source, were to be forwarded immediately to Lawton. "Open communications with him at once by courier and heliograph giving him full information and

location of all troops.”²² Beaumont relayed a Miles message to Lawton by heliograph which ended:

“Whenever you have a good opportunity to secure the persons of Geronimo and Natchez do so by any means, and do not fail to hold them beyond the possibility of escape.”²³

As if Lawton did not have enough to contend with, he was ordered by Miles on August 23rd to render a full report on his activities since leaving Fort Huachuca in May. The annual report was due in Washington, and the Chief of Staff would want to know about movements, positions, supply and communication problems, and all else pertaining to the actions of the expeditionary force. In his note to Lawton, Miles reiterated one of his pet theories regarding Gatewood’s scouts, Kieta and Martine, namely, that the Apache scouts could not be trusted. He did in fact advise Lawton to use the Pima scouts recruited near Tucson, adding, “Let them fight the Apaches in their own way.”²⁴

Geronimo remained in the hills. True, Lawton had made a heroic attempt to bring him to heel but had not been able to pull it off. It was time for Gatewood to seek out the crafty Indian and have a talk with him.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

First Lt. Charles Baehr Gatewood, 6th U.S. Cavalry, the man who induced Geronimo to surrender to General Miles.

CHAPTER 9

SURRENDER OR FIGHT TO THE BITTER END

It is of paramount importance to relate Gatewood's part in the surrender of Geronimo. A quiet, resourceful and capable officer, he eventually accomplished what the others had not been able to do, namely, effect the surrender of Geronimo. Largely passed over by history, this courageous individual must receive a great deal of credit for bringing the Apache Wars to an end. That is not to infer that he deserves the sole credit; he does not. Certainly Lawton, Wood, Lebo and the others did much to wear Geronimo's band down. It is to say that Gatewood's direct, persuasive manner induced Geronimo to quit the fight. No one else had been able to do that.

Miles had instructed Gatewood to pick up an escort of 20 men at Fort Bowie and to use them as insurance against capture and being held hostage. As it turned out, the commander at Bowie did not have 20 men to spare and sent Gatewood to Cloverdale to pick up his party. He fared no better there, nor was he any more successful in several other places visited. Accordingly, he went on to join Lawton on the Aros River with the same people he had recruited in Fort Bowie: two Indian scouts, Kieta and Martine; George Wrattan, an interpreter; Frank Houston, a packer; and "Tex" Whaley, a courier.

On joining Lawton, Gatewood asked the whereabouts of Geronimo, but Lawton did not know. Gatewood remained in Lawton's camp until August 15th and, on learning that Geronimo was somewhere near Fronteras, left for that place. There he found Lt. Wilder who told him of the visit into town by the squaws, Felicitas and Cruz. From Wilder, Gatewood borrowed Jose Maria and the scout Tom Horn; with his little entourage he set out at once, sending Kieta and Martine ahead as scouts.

On the third day out, Martine rode back to Gatewood to report that Geronimo's camp had been spotted in the Torres Mountains on the Bavispe River, at a point some four miles away. Martine and Kieta had both gone into Geronimo's camp, and he had detained Kieta to insure a meeting with Gatewood.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Geronimo in costume dress at Fort Sill. (Signal Corps photo 93379.)

The meeting was held on the banks of the Bavispe River at a point midway between the camps of Gatewood and Geronimo. Gatewood and Martine arrived first, and soon the hostiles began to drift in by twos and threes, placing themselves along the river bank and letting their horses graze on the short grasses. Geronimo was the last to arrive. Dismounting, he placed his rifle on the ground and walked over to Gatewood to shake hands. Tobacco was passed out by Gatewood and the men gathered in a semicircle to talk.

Geronimo spoke first, "We are ready to listen to Gen. Miles' message."

Gatewood's reply was brief and to the point. "Surrender, and you will be sent with your families to Florida, there to await the decision of the president as to your final disposition. Accept these terms or fight to the bitter end."¹

It was not what Geronimo wanted or even expected to hear. He seemed shaken and asked for a drink, explaining that the mescal the women brought in from Fronteras was all gone.

"I have no liquor, Geronimo, let us get to the business at hand."

Disappointed, Geronimo refused the surrender terms, arguing that he would return his people to the reservation only if no punishment was involved, and if they might reoccupy their land and receive prescribed rations of food and clothing. "Take me to the reservation or fight," said Geronimo.²

Neither man would give in, Geronimo because he could not bring himself to accept disaster, Gatewood because he was bound by orders. The talk lasted for several hours and accomplished nothing. The men agreed to meet again on the following day. As Gatewood departed, he told Natchez that his mother and daughter had been sent on to Florida with Chihuahua's band. Natchez was crestfallen.

In the morning the hostiles seemed more amenable to Miles' terms. The news of Chihuahua's removal to Florida certainly was a factor, and it is likely that discussion amongst themselves had pointed up the futility of their situation. Still, Geronimo was cagey and talkative.

"What sort of man is Gen. Miles?"

"He is a fair man and will treat you well."

"How do we know that?"

"You must believe me. I do not lie to you."

The discussion continued at length, with settlement seeming no nearer than on the previous day. At a conversational impasse Geronimo addressed Gatewood, as if thinking aloud.

"Bay-chen-day-sen, consider yourself not as you are, but as an Indian. Consider what has been said here and tell me, what would you do?"³

"I would trust Gen. Miles and surrender."⁴

The second day of palaver ended without decision. On the following morning the men met again and this time Geronimo announced his decision to surrender.

"I know that the American soldiers hate me. I know that the Mexicans fear me. All will kill me. I will go to Gen. Miles, but we will keep our rifles until we talk. The big captain must march near my people to protect us from the soldiers. You must march with me and sleep in my camp."⁵

Gatewood agreed and led Geronimo and Natchez into Lawton's camp. Lawton endorsed the proposal. A few days later on September 3rd, Miles met Geronimo in Skeleton Canyon several miles north of the Mexican border. As he had agreed, Geronimo kept his people armed and at a distance, promising Miles that he would bring them in on the following day. He did and was followed by Natchez and several hostiles on the 5th.

Skeleton Canyon, the place selected for the surrender, is about 70 miles southwest of Fort Bowie. A well watered and shady place, its grisly name derived from the fact that the canyon was filled with skeletons, the victims of Apache massacres.

On meeting, Miles and Geronimo sized one another up. Earlier, Miles had called Geronimo "the worst Indian who ever lived." Perhaps Miles still kept his original assessment but, after talking with the renegade, considered him "one of the brightest, most resolute and determined looking men" he had ever seen.⁶

For his part Geronimo seemed impressed with the tall, ramrod straight soldier, but remained dignified in his presence. Immediately, Geronimo renewed his desire to return to the reservation.

"No, you have surrendered and will be sent to Florida. Beside, your people are no longer here. I have sent them away."

Geronimo repeated that the sole reason he had fled Fort Apache was because Chato and Mickey Free had threatened to kill him. In a moment the talk turned to Natchez, still hiding out in the hills.

"We have watched your movements all along. I can send a message in the short part of a day which would take a man on a swift pony 20 days to deliver."⁷



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Pack-train of A Company, Indian scouts, Lt. C. B. Gatewood, Commanding. Signal Corps photo 88221.

Incredulous, Geronimo watched as a heliograph operator flashed a message to Fort Bowie inquiring about Geronimo's brother held there. Within minutes the answer came back that the brother was well and waiting for Geronimo to come in. Seeing this miraculous bit of legerdemain, Geronimo contacted Natchez by courier and suggested that he give himself up. Hours later, Natchez and his handful of followers straggled into Skeleton Canyon.

On the 5th Miles departed for Bowie, advising Thompson by heliograph: "I expect to be in tonight. Will have three or four Indians with me."⁸ On the way to Bowie, Geronimo gazed longingly at the Chiricahua Mountains and observed, "This is the fourth time I have surrendered."

"And the last," added Miles.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THEM?

The accompanying photo of Geronimo and Natchez taken at Fort Bowie shortly after their arrival there looks more like two men posing for a social affair than the wily renegades who turned an entire territory upside down.

Early on, when the troopers of Huachuca were chasing the hostiles throughout northern Chihuahua and Sonora, the question was asked: "If we don't kill them, what shall we do with them?" Actually, disposition of the Apaches, once in custody, had long been agreed upon. They would be shipped to Florida, although there were varying opinions as to the charges which would be placed against them and as to the length of time they would remain as prisoners. Miles had pressed for and obtained unconditional surrender but was not prepared to wreak vengeance in a vindictive mood. He was, in fact, not wedded to the idea that Florida was the only place to immobilize the hostiles.

Even before taking Geronimo's surrender, he had contacted the Acting Secretary of War saying:

"...Apaches have, on paper, been regarded as prisoners of war, but never disarmed or dismounted. If they believe published reports that they are to be banished to sickly Florida their removal over a mountainous and timbered country will be difficult if not impracticable....My purpose is to move them at least 1200 miles east, completely disarm them, send their stock to Fort Union, N.M., scatter the grown children in Indian schools throughout the country, hold the balance at one or two military posts, where they could acquire the habits of industry until such time as the government should provide them permanent residence and means of self-support...."¹

This humane and reasonable sentiment was not shared by the president and the chief of staff. Learning that the Geronimo affair



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Natchez and Geronimo at Fort Bowie, September 5, 1886, just after surrender to General Miles at Skeleton Canyon. Note new boots purchased at post trader's store.

was nearing its conclusion, President Cleveland urged his Acting Secretary of War from Prospect House, New York:

While some deference should be paid to the opinions of General Miles, I do not think these Indians should be treated otherwise than as prisoners of war. It is quite certain that they do not agree with the government as to their location, which I am satisfied should be Fort Marion, and since we are informed that their removal can now be successfully accomplished, I think this should be done at once....I hope nothing will be done with Geronimo which will prevent our treating him as a prisoner of war, if we can not hang him, which I would much prefer. Consult Lamar² and Sheridan, and if they agree with these views transmit them to Gen. Miles.³

To this chilling note, Gen. Sheridan added his endorsement: "I concur fully with the views expressed by the president."

The disparate views expressed above were by no means the only ones. General Howard, out of things in California yet Miles' immediate superior, allowed his jealousy to surface and picked at Miles in snide dispatches. Crook, no longer a participant but certainly an interested party, bristled at the shabby treatment accorded the scouts Kieta and Martine, sent along to Florida not as heroes, but as common prisoners of war. Over it all the territorial citizens raged and expressed themselves.

The culmination of the campaign and the physical presence of Geronimo and his people in Bowie caused an avalanche of messages between Arizona and the national capitol. Threatened by irate ranchers and townspeople, Miles was forced to put a guard around the post, not so much to keep his prisoners in as to keep lynchers out.

At the top the issue revolved around the divergent viewpoints of federal and territorial authorities. Miles, the soldier, had pledged his word that there would be no killing, and he expected to be supported by his superiors. They, concerned less with mercy than with the aspirations of angry territorial office-seekers, were eager to wash their hands of the mess and turn the Indians over to the territories for disposition. Failing that, federal authorities might act in such a way as to satisfy territorial people.

Understandably, Miles felt that the Indians ought not to be subject to the civil courts. The courts had done nothing to apprehend them,



Major General Oliver Otis Howard, Commanding General, Division of the Pacific, 1886-88. Earlier, in 1872, he was President U.S. Grant's personal representative to the hostile Apaches of New Mexico and Arizona after the Camp Grant Massacre of April 30, 1871.

nor had the vigilante groups. The entire affair had been a federal exercise, begun, pursued, and concluded by the United States Army. Why then should the civil authorities act vengefully now that it was all over? Wrote Miles:

The Apaches placed themselves entirely at our mercy, and we were in honor bound not to give them up to a mob or to the mockery of a justice where they could never have received an impartial trial. After one of the most vigorous campaigns they surrendered like brave men, and placed themselves at the mercy of the government.⁵

Despite this and similar messages from Miles, the clamor for severe punishment of the Apaches continued. Distressed, Miles asked Howard for leave to go to Washington and explain matters to Endicott,⁶ Sheridan and the president. He was refused. Miles then went over Howard's head and wired the president direct:

"In order that you may fully understand every facet and circumstance which led to the gratifying result (surrender), I respectfully request permission to report to you in person."⁷

Again Miles was refused, this time by General Drum who said: The president deems it best that you should continue with your command, and he desires that you answer without delay the status of Geronimo and party....⁸

Nettled, Miles replied:

Their status is the same as that of Chief Joseph, Sitting Bull, and hundreds of others; they are strictly prisoners of war, the result of the skill and fortitude of our troops...turning them over to local authorities...now would simply be a mockery of justice, even worse than the effort to try the Cheyennes in Kansas in 1879, where the secretary of war and judge advocate acted as prosecuting attorneys, and in order to carry out the directives of the president it was imperative to remove the entire tribe to a safe place of custody...."⁹

Fortunately for Miles, the president did not take umbrage at this little lesson in civics. In any case, Miles remained in Arizona and made no further attempts to gain the president's ear.



On the train trip to Florida. In front row are two of Geronimo's half-brothers, "Fatty" and Perico, then: Naichez, Geronimo, Chapo and Chapo's wife. Note armed 4th Cavalry troopers on car vestibules.



4th Cavalry Band at Fort Bowie, September 8, 1886. They played Geronimo and party off to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne."

There was another thing which rankled both Miles and Crook. Not only were the renegades to be hustled off to Florida, but also several loyal Chiricahua scouts and some non-Chiricahuas married to Chiricahuas. These included Kieta and Martine, Chato, "Peaches," "Dutchy," and a number of others who had served the army with dignity and honor. Going into captivity, Chato wore the silver medallion presented to him by the president but a few days earlier. Wrote Crook:

I assert that these Chiricahua scouts did excellent service, and were of more value in hunting down and compelling the surrender of the renegades than all other troops engaged in operations against them combined. During the entire campaign...every successful encounter with the hostiles was due exclusively to the exertions of Indian scouts, and it is the unanimous testimony of officers commanding scout companies that the Chiricahuas were the most subordinate, untiring, and, by odds, the most efficient of their command.¹⁰

It would seem that such lavish testimony from the man who had dealt with the problem longer than anyone else might bear fruit. It did not. Martine and Kieta received "special treatment" of sorts, however. As a reward for services, each man was given \$60 by a grateful government. In 1927, 40 years after their heroic service, the two scouts were issued small pensions by the government. By then it was too late to do either of them much good.

On September 8, 1886, Geronimo and party were taken from Fort Bowie to Bowie Station where they were put on a train for the long trip east. In charge of the party was Capt. Lawton, accompanied by Capt. Leonard Wood, Lieutenants A. L. Smith, and T. J. Clay, interpreters Wratten, Edwardy, and Montoys, and 20 men of B Troop, 4th Cavalry. On the 6th Thompson had sent a note to Forsyth in Huachuca saying: "Geronimo and Natchez came in last night. The department commander directs that you send the 4th Cavalry Band to report here at once. Come by rail."¹¹ As the train bearing the prisoners pulled out of Bowie Station, incongruously the band struck up "Auld Lang Syne." One thing was certain: "auld acquaintance" would not be "soon forgot!"

The accompanying photo shows Geronimo and Natchez sitting under guard of the 4th Cavalry troopers at a watering place en route to Florida. They do not appear to be submissive, rather pensive at

the turn of events which finds them sitting by their fellows and the white man's iron horse.

In the front row, left, are two of Geronimo's half-brothers, "Fatty," and "Perico" (curly). On Geronimo's left are Chapo and Chapo's wife. Both Geronimo and Natchez are wearing cowboy boots purchased in the suttler's store at Fort Bowie.

When the train reached Deming, New Mexico, an incident was narrowly averted. Cowboys had gathered at the station with the intention of pulling the Indians from the train and shooting them. Alert troopers stood their guard, carbines at the ready, and trouble was avoided. The train made numerous stops en route. At each place hundreds of curious townspeople turned out to see the savages. In his illuminating autobiography, "I Fought With Geronimo," Jason Betzinez relates his wonder at seeing the great plains in Colorado and Kansas, the endless miles of neat farms, and the crowds of people. "We had no idea there were so many white people."¹² It would have nettled the onlookers to learn that the Apaches considered Whites to be inferior. "We (Apaches) have a strong feeling of racial superiority, and regard others as being lesser creatures."¹³

At San Antonio, Texas, the Indians were taken from the train and kept under close guard, while the powers in Washington decided what to do with them. The presence of Geronimo and his band worried the Department Commander Stanley who wired the War Department:

There is no permanent or safe guard house here, and no place of security at the post proper. As the force for duty here is small, I must order in a company of infantry from Fort Concho.¹⁴

Washington would move the prisoners on but only when the final decision was made. General Irwin wired Stanley directing him to visit Geronimo in the guard house and learn from him what he could of the Indian's understanding on surrender terms. On September 30 Stanley answered:

...I examined Geronimo and Natchez today, separately, and without raising their suspicions. Captain Lancaster, commanding this post was present. Both chiefs said they never thought of surrender until Lt. Gatewood, interpreter Wrattan, and the two scouts (Kieta and Martine) came to them and said the Great White Father wanted them to surrender....When Geronimo met Miles at Skeleton

Canyon the latter said: "lay down your arms and come with me to Fort Bowie, and in five days you will see your families, now in Florida with Chihuahua. No harm will be done you....Miles talked very friendly to us, and we believed him as we would God...." These families are now anxious to go to Florida. George Wrattan confirms this report of Miles' talk to Geronimo and Natchez at Fort Bowie. Lt. Clay and Doctor Wood have stated to me that promises were made to these Indians that their lives would be spared.¹⁵

As Stanley and Geronimo finished their talk, the latter squatted down and made a sweeping motion in the dirt with the back of his hand. He said, "At Fort Bowie, Gen. Miles did this, saying everything I had done to this time would be wiped out, forgotten, and that I would begin a new life."¹⁶

Perhaps Miles had used the word "forgotten." Certainly, he could not mean it in light of the many crimes committed by the cunning savage.

On October 19th William Endicott, the Secretary of War, ordered Lt. Gen. Sheridan to remove the male Apaches from San Antonio to Fort Pickens, Florida. There were 16, quiet enough to look at but the cynosure of every watchful eye against the calamity of escape. With Geronimo and Natchez awaiting the last leg of deportation to Florida were: Perico, Fun, Abnandria, Nahi, Yahnza, Fishnolth, Touzee, Bishi, Chapo, Lazaiyah, Molzos, Kilthljal, Sephonue, and Lonah.

That these men should have names like "Fatty," "Curley" and "Fun" was incomprehensible to Endicott who wrote: "These Indians have been guilty of the worst crimes known to law, committed under circumstances of great atrocity. Public safety requires that they be removed far from the scene of their depredations, and guarded with the strictest vigilance."¹⁷

The remainder of the band in San Antonio, 11 women, six children, and two scouts, were sent to Fort Marion, Florida, to join others already there. The Fort Marion contingent traveled via Kansas City, St. Louis, Chattanooga, Jacksonville and St. Augustine. At St. Augustine the band detrained and were led through the town by soldiers, over a drawbridge and into the place of incarceration. A sergeant of coast artillery directed the prisoners to tents set up in the inner courtyard.

Geronimo's group left San Antonio by special train provided with guards from K Company, 16th Infantry, and traveled to Fort Pickens by way of New Orleans, Pensacola and St. Augustine. On October 25th General Schofield wired the adjutant general from Governor's Island:

Following dispatch just received from Commander Fort Barrancas. "Geronimo and fourteen bucks with interpreter are in Fort Pickens. Geronimo says they are well satisfied....¹⁸

Well satisfied to be alive, no doubt, but scarcely jubilant over the prospect of endless humidity, flat, mountainless terrain, mosquitoes, and banishment forever from the rugged beauty of the homeland far away.

CHAPTER 11

WHO WON?

The Geronimo Campaign began on May 17, 1885, and ended on September 3, 1886, for a total of 15 months and 17 days. In some ways it is one of the most remarkable sagas in military history. In it, 35 men and eight half-grown boys, encumbered with 101 women and children, eluded the pursuit of hundreds of veteran soldiers in a flight of almost unbelievable endurance. They accomplished this with no regular base of supplies, in hostile country some 80,000 square miles in size, and against 6,000 soldiers, 500 or more Indian scouts, and an uncounted number of civilian vigilante groups in two countries.

In retrospect the campaign was, on the part of pursuing forces, a frantic and often floundering effort to catch up with a few individuals who were as elusive as the wind. In his all-out effort to capture Geronimo, Gen. Miles had about 6,000 men at his disposal, or about one-quarter of the United States Army at that time. Mexican federal garrisons augmented that number, as did state rangers and the volunteer groups mentioned above.

Attempts were made to guard every water hole in the southern Arizona, New Mexico and northern Sonora territories likely to be used by Geronimo's people. A communications system was established, employing both telegraph and heliograph personnel, to form a combination hitherto unparalleled in military history. Messages were relayed to Gen. Miles, whether in garrison or in the field, with astonishing speed and accuracy.

On several occasions there were skirmishes or brushes between Indian and trooper, always indecisive and always at long distance. Of the several American columns in the field, Capt. Henry Ware Lawton's B Troop, 4th Cavalry, was the best equipped for a lengthy stay in the field, and more was expected of it. This was so, if for no other reasons than the column's superior pack train and the special interest displayed in the command by the department commander.

In their 15 months of freedom, the hostiles killed 75 citizens of Arizona and New Mexico, according to official records, including 12



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Typical Apache camp scene of the 1880's showing what kind of adversaries the troopers were up against. This photo includes the scout Martine, who traveled with Lt. Gatewood. Martine is third from left, middle row. Signal Corps photo 87296.

White Mountain Apaches, and eight troopers of the regular army. The number of Mexicans killed is incalculable and probably ran into the hundreds.

Geronimo lost six men: two boys, two women and one infant. Two of the six men, were not killed in combat but in a Mexican village where they had gone on a peace mission. In his annual report for 1886, the Secretary of War listed 16 men and four boys of Chihuahua's party as incarcerated at Fort Marion, Florida, along with Geronimo with 15 men, and two of Mangas' band, for a total of 38 warriors.

Who won? The answer depends entirely upon one's personal assessment of the facts. On the one hand, a tiny band of ill-equipped and fast-moving savages eluded a skillful and well trained army for 15 months. On the other hand, these runaways were ultimately persuaded to surrender and were moved off into oblivion a continent's width away. They were never defeated in combat.

The Army won in the sense that it accomplished its mission and, in so doing, brought an end to the Apache Wars. Considered in the light of time, effort and money expended by the contending parties, victory would seem to be the property of the Indians. Nonetheless, the army prevailed, a fact which makes other arguments academic.

There can be no justification in slighting the troopers for not apprehending Geronimo and his people. Performance by Lawton's men, and others, was of the highest order. The fact remains that good soldiers, operating in difficult country, were simply not able to cope with the guerrilla tactics of the Indians. While there were some veterans of the plains campaigns in Montana, Wyoming and in the Dakotas, almost all of the soldiers trailing Geronimo were the products of classical warfare. These were men who had fought at Shiloh, or Antietam, or Gettysburg, surging forward shoulder to shoulder in serried ranks, cutting down opposition by sheer weight of numbers. Fighting the Apache was like fighting the wind. Also, it was something like looking for a needle in a haystack.

The adversaries were the products of their separate environments, and the Apaches were fighting on their home ground. The troopers, save for a handful, were not the products of the savage, barren, waterless wastes of the desert, rather the green hills of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee. It is both proper and necessary, therefore, to accord them with the honor they deserve. The Indian-fighting Army, and particularly those individuals who pursued Geronimo, were by any standard tough, resilient and courageous soldiers. They

did their best in an almost impossible situation, exhibiting the traits which have always been the hallmark of the soldier: perseverance, courage, loyalty and dedication.

To downgrade the troopers for failing to capture Geronimo is unfair. To degrade the hostiles for giving in at last would be a gross miscarriage of justice. In the end the Army prevailed because of an inexhaustible supply of men, equipment and supplies. All things considered, there could have been no other resolution.

Who deserves the credit for Geronimo's surrender? It is obvious that Lawton and Wood must be given a great deal of credit for wearing down Geronimo to the point of surrender, for that is precisely what they did, making relentless pursuit by day and by night. Still, the net result of Lawton's four months in the field was the capture of some ponies and camp supplies on July 14th. Moreover, this feat was accomplished not by Lawton but by Lt. Brown, who had skirmished with the Indians hours before Lawton's arrival on the scene. Played up as a victory, the incident meant little to the hostiles. Seven times within the 15 months of fighting they lost horses and supplies to pursuing troopers. Always they simply stole more horses as the opportunity offered.

The only hostiles killed by U.S. troops were those killed by soldiers under the command of Emmett Crawford and Wirt Davis, who operated not for four months but for 11 and eight months respectively. They captured Chihuahua, 14 men, and 59 women and children; Lawton captured no one. Of Geronimo's original band six warriors refused to surrender under the arrangement made by Gatewood, but surrendered later to Colonel Emilio Kosterlitzky of the Sonora Gendarmeria Fiscal.

Lawton's report to Miles is interesting. Generally, it is laudatory concerning the activities of officers, troopers and packers, but contains no commendation of any sort of Gatewood. It does in fact dismiss Gatewood's expertise with the brief phrase: "he made an agreement with Geronimo."¹ In eulogizing his men Lawton wrote:

This command which fairly ran down the hostiles and forced them to seek terms, has clearly demonstrated that our soldiers can operate in any country the Indians may choose for refuge, and may not only cope with them on their own ground, but run down and subdue them.²

Certainly the troopers could operate anywhere, but they did not subdue the hostiles. Furthermore, it was the scouts who attacked

Geronimo's camp, capturing the ponies and gear. Lawton, no more enthusiastic about the scouts than Miles, ignores them in his report. Still, without them he would not have been able to press Geronimo so relentlessly. In assigning credit it is necessary to recognize other units besides the 4th Cavalry Regiment of Fort Huachuca. Aficionados of that organization are prone to think that the main thrust against Geronimo originated at Huachuca, probably because of the attention given to Lawton's expedition. Of equal or perhaps greater importance, were Fort Bowie and Fort Apache, with numerous other Arizona and New Mexico federal garrisons coming in for their share of the honors. Although the 4th Cavalry was very active in the Geronimo Campaign, it must be noted that other organizations were equally employed. In reality the whole southern portion of Arizona Territory and much of New Mexico Territory were engaged in the campaign.

In addition to the 4th Cavalry, most of whose troops operated from Huachuca, Miles had at his disposal elements of the 2nd, 6th, 8th and 10th Cavalry Regiments, and the 1st, 2nd, 8th, 9th, 10th and 13th Infantry Regiments. The 9th Infantry came into the area late in the game upon approval by Lt. Gen. Sheridan of a request by Miles for additional foot troops. Rarely were these organizations gathered in regimental strength on one post. For one thing, few posts could accomodate an entire regiment. More importantly, the need to pursue marauding Apaches made it imperative to split up regiments into fast-strike pursuit forces.

Thus it was that, while the 4th Cavalry Regiment might be gathered at Fort Huachuca for a few days or even weeks, its troops were dispersed most of the time to places like Silver Creek, San Bernardino, Guadalupe Canyon, Bowie Station, or Camp Rucker. Similarly, the 2nd Cavalry might be split up to garrison Gila Bonita, or Ash Spring, with the 10th at Camp Crawford or Bonita Canyon.

The 8th Infantry Regiment was really split up. During the first week in May 1886, for example, its companies were located as follows: Companies D and K at Fort Huachuca; B at Fort Lowell; C at Mojave; F and H at Camp Grant; E at Apache; A at Bowie; G at McDowell; and I at Verde. Company D was in the field after Geronimo and Natchez in May and was reported by Lawton as being completely worn out, barefoot and almost destitute of clothing. So severe were the rigors of campaign, that eight men had to be returned to Fort Huachuca for medical treatment.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Fort Bowie in historic Apache Pass, established by soldiers of the "California Column" in 1862. Bowie was an extremely active post during the Apache Campaigns.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Fort Apache, about 1875. Post was first named Camp Ord, then Camp Mogollon, then Camp Thomas, and finally Fort Apache. Near site of Cibicu Creek fight of August 30, 1881.

In July I Company joined Lawton in the field and marched deep into Sonora, remaining there until mid-September. Company K joined D and I and spent some 70 days in pursuit of Geronimo.

Over in New Mexico the 2nd, 10th and 13th Infantry, and the 8th Cavalry were scattered in such places as Lewis, Marcy, Fairview, Alma, Union, Malone, Cloverdale, and Hillsboro.

The 1st Infantry played an important role in the campaigns prior to May 1886, but had a change of station on orders just as the final Geronimo campaign was launched. From its locations throughout southeastern Arizona, it went to California to take up residence in such places as Angel Island, McDermitt, San Diego Barracks, Halleck, Benecia Arsenal, and post of posts, the Presidio in San Francisco.

Despite the lure of the fleshpots in California, not all 1st infantrymen wanted to go. An arrangement was made by the commanders of the 1st and 8th Infantry Regiments whereby soldiers might "trade regiments." This would permit the hard-nosed Indian fighters to remain on the scene in Arizona, while allowing 8th infantrymen a chance to "taste civilization." The department commander approved the idea. Surprisingly, there were numerous takers, 51 by actual count.

A head-count of officers and men available to Gen. Miles was made at his request by Lieutenant George E. Glenn, the A.A.A.G., on June 24, 1886, and disclosed the following:

Present for duty in the Department of Arizona:
General officer, 1; general staff officers, 21, with 2 attached; general staff enlisted, 43; Cavalry: 65 officers, 1389 men; Infantry: 22 officers, 413 men attached to 2nd Cavalry; 4 officers, 120 men; 8th Infantry: 10 officers, 239 men unassigned. Totals: 125 officers, 2204 enlisted men.³

In New Mexico, Colonel Bradley reported from Santa Fe: Present for duty in the Department of New Mexico: Officers, 119, enlisted men, 1350; Indian scouts, 26 Mescaleros, 155 Navajoes.⁴

This totaled to 244 officers, 3,554 men, and 181 Indian scouts. Perhaps if Geronimo and Natchez could have seen these rolls, they would have quit the fight then and there. As it was, they were running all over the hills and valleys of Sonora with no time for paper work. Had he been called upon for a similar tally, Geronimo might have had his G-1 come up with something like this:

Present for duty in the Apache camp: General officer, 1; staff officer, 1; officers, 2, perhaps 3; men, 28; women and children, 101.

While neither the 6th nor 10th Cavalry Regiments were stationed at Huachuca during the Geronimo Campaign, both were active in it and deserve mention. Moreover, the 6th had a lengthy record of service at Huachuca earlier from 1877 to 1882, and the 10th served there longer than any other organization, 18 years from 1913 to 1931.

Writing to Capt. Thompson at Fort Bowie, Capt. John B. Kerr, commanding a battalion of the 6th Cavalry at Camp Henley, New Mexico, outlined his troubles with reference to pack trains:

...There are but 13 pack mules attached to each troop here, except K which has 8. I recommend that 5 additional mules be provided for K Troop. I call your attention to the fact that there is not an organized pack train with troops in New Mexico, while Arizona has several, complete in every respect. If the hostiles seek a resort in the Mogollon mountains, the need for packs will be severe, and troop movements will be hampered.

The packs are not recommended for troops to luxuriate with bedding, tentage, etc. but will be used for rations, cooking implements, ammunition, and limited amounts of forage. Eight or 10 mules are not sufficient to carry supplies for 60 men. In order to move with celerity, packs must be light, and troops on the trail of hostiles must not have to return for rations. If arrangements could be made to purchase 60 mules, it would in my opinion, be in effect equal to a reenforcement of several thousand men destitute of the proper means of transportation for the special service expected.⁵

Kerr obviously had a keen appreciation for the logistical side of field operations. Also, he knew where the hostiles were, more or less. In candor, Capt. Adna R. Chaffee, commanding a troop of the 6th at Fort Cummings opined: "The only reports I have of the whereabouts of the hostiles I obtain from the Tucson Star of yesterday and the El Paso Times of the same date!"⁶ Years later the great American humorist, Will Rogers, would use almost the same words: "All I know is what I read in the papers."

The Geronimo Campaign was already under way when the 10th Cavalry Regiment arrived in Arizona in the spring of 1885, and so a squadron was made up at once and put under the command of Major Frederick Van Vliet. The squadron was comprised of Troops D, E, H, and K. The force searched every nook and cranny of the Mogollon Mountains, going as far east as Fort Bayard, New Mexico. Not a trace of the hostiles was found.

When Geronimo came back across the line into Arizona Territory in April 1886, Capt. Thomas C. Lebo, commanding K Troop of the 10th, was sent to intercept him. The result of Lebo's brush with Geronimo's band has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. It should be reported that Cpl. Edward Scott, the man saved by Lt. Powhatan Clarke, was something of a hero himself. He sustained his wound while leading the advance line of skirmishers against the Indian position. In driving the enemy from the ridge, he killed one hostile and wounded another. Also, the Blacksmith, J. H. Giles, crawled for about 100 yards, under fire to rescue his friend, Private Joseph Fallis. Sadly, Fallis was dead when Giles reached him. The Trumpeter, Joseph White, killed an Indian at close range. All of these men were cited by Lebo.

After the fight in the Pinitos, Lebo started north and sent a message to Col. Royall at Huachuca:

I have sent Lt. Davis to Imuris to cut trails between this ranch (Mohanera) and Imuris and to report to you by telegraph. I will move back along Rio Cocospera on the west side of Cananea, and then on to my camp. Horses and men much worn. Some horses barefooted. Supply of shoes exhausted. Have barely enough rations to take me to camp. Nothing heard of Lt. Benson nor Mexican troops since I put them on trail on the 5th.⁷

Lebo was out of forage too, his mounts subsisting on the sparse saw-grass rising in clumps between the rocks. Wrote Quartermaster Lt. A.M. Patch on June 10: "Capt. Lebo and Lt. Weaver have drawn on me today nearly all of my grain. Please expedite shipment from Bowie Station."⁸

On June 13th Lebo wired Miles from the Mowry mine: "Shall I ship my tents and extra property at Fort Huachuca or take to Calabasas? A courier will remain at Crittenden for two hours should you wish to communicate with me by wire."⁹

Most historians seem to agree that the Army Camp at Crittenden, which was established in August 1867, was officially deactivated on June 1, 1873, some 13 years before the message sent by Lebo as presented above. There were several other messages originating from "Crittenden" during the spring and summer of 1886. Lt. Powhatan Clarke, for example, wired Miles from Crittenden on June 14th informing him of a move to Tubac via Greaterville Gap. It is likely that these messages were sent from a railroad telegraph office, as Crittenden was a stop on the line to Nogales at this time.

Finally, in the matter of credit, it must be realized that it was Gatewood, and Gatewood alone, who induced Geronimo to surrender. True, the indefatigable soldiers of Crook, Lawton and Wood, Crawford, Forsyth, Lebo, and many others had worn the Indians down, and most commanders had opportunities to parley or communicate with Geronimo at one time or another. Whatever the difference in approach and whatever the condition of Geronimo's people in the last days of August, it was Gatewood who succeeded.

Unfortunately, there was some hard feeling between Lawton and Gatewood, and the two had engaged in acrimonious exchange in Fort Huachuca on several occasions. On September 2nd, just before Miles' meeting with Geronimo at Skeleton Canyon, Lawton had said in a communication to the general: "I have regretted a thousand times that Gatewood ever found my command."¹⁰

In a letter to Colonel Cornelius C. Smith, written in 1931, Gatewood's son, Colonel Charles B. Gatewood, Jr., shed some light on the quarrel between his father and Lawton. On the march north from Fronteras, First Lieutenant A.L. Smith of Lawton's command, along with Capt. Leonard Wood, attempted to make a surprise attack on Geronimo's camp after Gatewood had arranged surrender terms and after Lawton had endorsed them. The attack failed, but on the following day Smith tried to take Geronimo and Natchez at a parley to which the two had been invited. Gatewood, supported by his interpreter, George Wrattan, intercepted the attempt and complained bitterly to Lawton about his "inability to control your officers."¹¹

Fate is not universally kind to its heroes. Lawton went on to attain the rank of Major General in an honored and respected career. Gatewood made First Lieutenant in January 1885 and died in the same rank 11 years later. After the Geronimo affair he was transferred to Wyoming, and there, while endeavoring to quench a

fire, he suffered a shattered arm in an explosion. Retired on a small pension, he removed to Newport News, Virginia, where he died on May 29, 1896. His wife became eligible for a pension of 17 dollars per month.



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Cadet photo of Lt. Edward E. Dravo, USMA 1876. One of the officers responsible for establishing the heliograph stations for the 1886 Apache Campaigns.

CHAPTER 12

MESSAGES BY MIRROR

Of considerable interest to historians and military men is the story of the use of the heliograph in the Geronimo Campaign. Some writers have dismissed the instrument as little more than an expensive toy; others give it a major portion of the credit for bringing the campaign to a close. It would appear that the truth lies somewhere between these extremes. The heliograph was widely used, and it was moderately successful. It was moderately successful because, despite extravagant claims on its behalf, records of the campaign show that most messages were sent by telegraph. Nonetheless, troopers in the field were nowhere near telegraph stations most of the time and had to augment established lines of communication with heliograph stations. For one thing, telegraph lines could not be protected against the Apaches, who chopped down poles and cut the wires. Worse, they frequently separated the wires and then rejoined them with leather string, breaking the circuit and making detection all but impossible.

General Miles wrote to Brigadier General W. B. Hazen, the Army's Chief Signal Officer, requesting that he send "a corps of skilled officers and men and the best instruments and appliances available."¹ Anticipating Hazen's help, he then directed his engineer officer to "block out the country in such a way as to establish a network of points of observation and communication over the entire area."² Hazen was cooperative, sending Miles 11 qualified signal corps technicians, 34 heliographs, 10 telescopes and 30 marine glasses. He put Lieutenant Alvarado Mortimer Fuller, 2nd Cavalry, in charge of heliograph activities in Arizona, and Lieutenant Edward Everett Dravo, 6th Cavalry, to oversee the system in New Mexico.

The time was opportune. Soon Captains Lawton and Wood would leave Huachuca to take the trail against Geronimo. Good communications would be vital. Wired the A.A.A.G. Thompson to Miles on May 3, 1886:

With your approval I will place Lt. Fuller in charge of the two districts commanded by Col. Royall and Maj. Beaumont to establish and equip the heliograph stations, and put Lt. Dravo in charge of the districts commanded by Captains Tupper and Chaffee. Dravo can connect with Fuller's stations from the west....In carrying out your instructions, I have endeavored to hurry matters as fast as possible so you can have the stations established and in working order in a short time.³

Thompson was right. Things were moving along in a hurry. Two days later, Lieutenant Robert Bruce Watkins was wiring Thompson from Prescott that boxes of heliographs, telescopes and field glasses were crated and enroute to Fort Bowie for distribution. Fuller was glad to get the equipment but needed additional operators. "I am," he wired, "unable to put up stations on account of scarcity of operators. Only two have reported so far."⁴

The word spread and soon soldiers were either requesting signal duty or being assigned to it anyway. Private John Jones, bandsman from the 10th Infantry Regiment in Fort Union, put in for signal duty and was accepted. Because of his ability to "work the Milliken Repeater," presumably the key assembly on the Manse heliograph, First Class Private Capwell was assigned to Fuller from Bowie.

On June 17th Capt. Thompson wrote to the commanding officer, D Company, 8th Infantry, at Huachuca soliciting names of enlisted men skilled in the use of Morse Code or who were willing to learn. Captain Clarence Mitchell Bailey answered that he had one man, Butterworth, proficient in Morse but too sick to take the field. "Whether any of my company now in the field with Capt. Lawton are conversant with it, or are willing to learn, I am unable to tell."⁵

Company A, 8th Infantry, was a little more helpful, listing Sergeant E. Mackey, Corporal August Strable, Private William M. Graham and a Private Daley as willing to learn the intricacies of heliograph operations.⁶

Huachuca was called upon to furnish its share of men for signal duty too. On May 16th Fuller contacted Thompson from Station Three that Beaumont had put in a request to Col. Royall for four dismounted men and two couriers, and that he, Fuller, was awaiting the arrival of these men. "Have them take bedding and rations to last a month. I will furnish everything else."⁷ Almost as an afterthought, Fuller ended his message with these words: "Last night, about nine, a

party of Indians rode through the camp at full speed. They went toward Rucker Canyon.”⁸

For his part, Lt. Dravo wanted to go first class. From Fort Bayard, New Mexico, he wrote on May 17th:

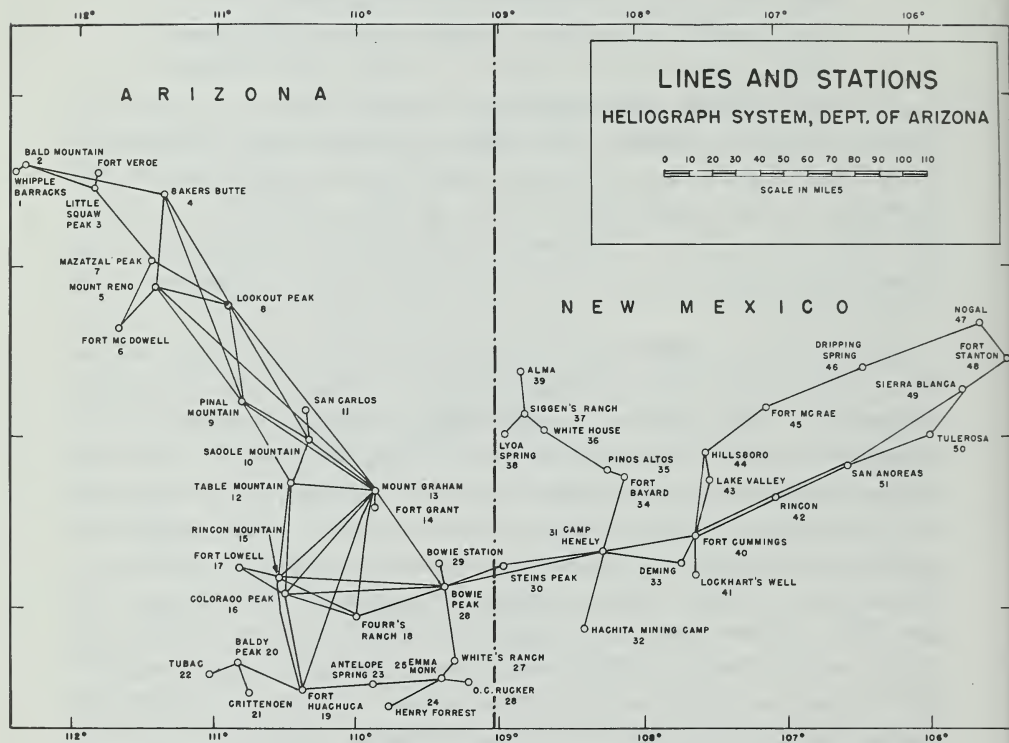
Sir, having this day received notification of my detail in charge of signal operations in southern New Mexico, I have the honor to request that I be furnished with a double-seated buckboard and two good mules. This duty, properly conducted, will entail a great deal of travel on which I will have to take bedding, instruments and supplies....⁹

Captain Tupper thought the request sensible and endorsed it favorably, giving Dravo the wagon and teams. On May 23rd Fuller reported to Thompson that his line had been established as far as Fort Huachuca, “seven stations in good order.” He added that the greatest day’s work to date had been transmission by heliograph of 1,500 words.¹⁰

Ten days later Fuller was at Crittenden and wired Thompson that he was about to put up Station Number Nine in the Patagonia Mountains. “This station,” said Fuller, “will cover a big lot of country and work west of Calabasas.”¹¹ By now some of his men were complaining of tired eyes because of scanning the countryside for hours on end with telescopes. Also, some of his men, supposedly proficient in the use of English Morse Code, were proving to be slow learners, even with on-the-job-training supplied by signal service in the field. As he moved to Nogales to install Station Number 10, Fuller wrote wistfully, “Can’t I get about four good signal men?”¹² The American Morse telegraph code was not substituted for the English or Continental Morse for use in visual signaling by the army until 1889. For Fuller’s recruits it probably wouldn’t have mattered much, one way or another.

Three days passed without word from Bowie. By now Fuller was exasperated.

Have been all through Patagonia Mountains for the last two days. No water there. Impossible to run sights down via those mountains. I am compelled to cross the Santa Ritas, but it is useless with the operators I have. Can’t I get the signal men and the big heliograph now? The short line at Separ, from Santa Rita to Huachuca will be over 40 miles. The men here cannot work it. It is absolutely necessary



Lines and stations, heliograph system, Department of Arizona, during an 1890 communications maneuver.

that this station be perfectly equipped. The operators I have are men with only eight or 10 days practice. They cannot work a station like those in Beaumont's district. Santa Rita peak can be seen for many miles. If I get the signal men and big heliograph I can put all those troops in communication....¹³

On the following day Fuller wired again from Calabasas:

"I am waiting for an answer to my telegram of the 5th." And on the 7th, "The general wants me to start for Tubac in an hour, and directs me to ask you about the answer to my telegrams. Please answer at once."¹⁴

There is no record of an answer from Thompson, but it is presumed that Fuller's use of Miles' name, if only by inference, stirred some action. One can sympathize with the eager and forceful young officer trying to establish a communications line in the wilderness with incompetent help and inadequate equipment. A thorough officer, Fuller considered other aspects of his assignment.

On June 15th he wrote to Thompson suggesting changes in the normal issue of provisions for his field crew, asking that each signal man or heliograph service be issued five pounds of onions each month along with his 25 pounds of potatoes. Also, canned beef should augment the monotonous diet of bacon, and one-third of the bean ration should come in cans. "Further," wrote Fuller, "I think that owing to the altitude of Station Eight, all beans issued ought to be in cans."¹⁵ Somewhat righteously Fuller concluded: "I deem these recommendations vitally important, and would like to be able to make arrangements at once for furnishing these stores to prevent sickness."¹⁶

On June 15th Fuller made a full and interesting report to Thompson of his activities in establishing heliograph stations in the Huachuca District, particularly Station Number Eight.

On May 30th, I left post of Huachuca with two stations complete. Went west to Elgin and communicated with Number Seven. (Huachuca). May 31st, went to old Camp Crittenden, and with my orderly ascended the side of Santa Rita Mountain. Worked with Number Seven, but could find no location. June 1st, left detail in camp (Crittenden) and went west seven miles to Gardner's Ranch and again ascended mountains to find location. June 2nd,



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Heliograph station No. 3 White's Ranch, Sulphur Springs Valley, completed 29 April, 1886. Its code letter was "W." Note trooper at right scanning horizon with field glasses. (Note: The official numbering system assigns post No. 3 to Little Squaw Peak, near Flagstaff.) Signal Corps photo 85746.

with orderly climbed six miles up, and to top of peak, but found no location. Returned and put station on line with peak one and one-quarter miles above Gardner's Ranch and 30 miles from Huachuca. June 3rd, worked station until 12 midnight, then left, picking up detail at Crittenden. June 4th and 5th, explored Patagonia Mountains. No success. Went to Calabasas. Lay there June 6th, went to Tubac on 7th. June 8th, put in Station Number Nine in Tubas town. June 9th, returned to Calabasas. June 10th, back to Crittenden. June 11th, went to Gardner's Ranch and took up Station Number Eight and moved it four miles into mountains, establishing it on little Baldy Mountain one and one-quarter miles south of Old Baldy, and about 38 miles from Huachuca. That was on June 12th. June 13th, went to Sonoita and took train for Bowie. Station Number Eight is 7,000 feet elevation and commands a magnificent view. It can be seen from far down in Sonora, over the Patagonias and Cordilleras to Huachucas, over to the Santa Catalina Range, the Rincons, and to the Whetstones and beyond...Water is three-quarter miles from the station, over a most difficult trail, but it is good. Shade trees are in abundance. It is nine miles from the nearest town. Station Seven is in Tubac, 12 miles from Calabasas. As soon as possible a map will be sent to the chief engineer officer, with request that blue prints be furnished you for distribution to all troops in the field in order that the position of stations may be known. I would suggest that where troops, moving, have operators with them, they be furnished with Grugan heliographs, that they may communicate with district headquarters via high peak stations. Thirty Grugan heliographs are coming to me by the general's order, and I can furnish a certain number. If it is desired to establish, at any point, permanent stations, please notify me and I will go and put them in. I hope to get such a station at Stein's Peak. I request that at least six men be under continuous instruction at Huachuca to meet the requirements of new stations, and to replace sick men. At Station

Eight, operators have one day's rest in three, on account of the arduous climbing to the station. I would request that one more man be furnished that station owing to its dangerous position. I think communications with Number Eight can be made from very near Harshaw, Mowry Mine and San Rafael. Tucson and Fort Lowell cannot be seen - hidden by Old Baldy. Crittenden is the nearest point of debarkation for Number Eight.¹⁷

Miles had read about the use of heliographs by the British Army in India and Africa. In 1878 he obtained six heliographs from the Army's Chief Signal Officer, Colonel Albert J. Myer, and used them to establish communications between Fort Keogh and Fort Custer in Montana Territory. Alvarado M. Fuller, then a Sergeant, helped to establish and operate a portion of this heliograph line.

Now, eighteen years later, Miles became the first U.S. Army commander to make effective use of the heliograph in a military campaign. Fuller established the first station on April 26. The last, the twenty-seventh became operational on July 14. Fort Huachuca was station 7 in the string.¹⁸ It was placed upon a hill overlooking Officer's Row from the southwest. At one time a marker there commemorated the presence of this historic station. Vandals desecrated it, and today nothing remains but a rusting iron post set forlornly on the hilltop.

Fuller posted small guards of infantry at each station and provided the men with casks of water and food supplies to last for as long as 30 days, in case of siege. Some of the stations communicated with only one other station, a circumstance dictated by distance and line of sight; some stations, ideally located, communicated with as many as five others. Each station was manned by at least two operators protected by a squad of guards. Operators had at their disposal a heliograph, field glasses and a telescope.

The instrument used was a Manse heliograph, invented by Sir Henry Christopher Manse while employed by the Persian Gulf Telegraph Department of the Indian Government during the 1860's. Although the Indian government found no use for it at that time, it was employed subsequently in British military campaigns in India and South Africa. Also, it was used fairly extensively later on by the Russians during the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria. In 1890 the army would take the Grugan and Garner heliographs into its inventory, but use of these devices was limited. There is an original



Sp4 Gene Lenore reenacts installation of the Manse Heliograph System at Fort Huachuca on May 23, 1886. Station was installed by Lt. Alvarado M. Fuller, using Private C. T. Von Herrman as Huachuca's first heliograph operator. Reenactment took place on June 25, 1962.

Manse heliograph in the Post Museum at Fort Huachuca, a rarity now.

One should not confuse the heliograph with the heliostat. Messages sent during the 1886 campaigns refer occasionally to heliostats, possibly in error. The heliostat was a rather sophisticated mechanism which was revolved slowly by clockwork so as to reflect the sun's rays continuously in a fixed direction. The heliograph, a simpler tool, consisted of a movable mirror, manipulated by hand against a key. Conceivably, both instruments were used. It is more likely that officers sending messages simply referred to the heliograph as a heliostat, not knowing the difference between the two.

As proof of this is a portion of the report made by Lieutenant Charles Wendell Fenton in testing equipment at Bald Mountain Station near Fort Whipple in 1890.

After repeated trails with the Manse system, which failed to give satisfaction, that is, throwing the flash on or off by action of the finger key, I converted it into a heliostat, using an improvised screen to reveal or cut off the flash.¹⁹

Fenton's manufacture of a shutter system was ingenious, but he still had a heliograph. Fenton's tests were of some distinction regardless. So clear was the mountain air, that on May 14, 1890, "the longest flash in the world" was made by Lieutenant Edmund Wittenmyer in sending a signal from Mt. Reno, near Fort McDowell, to the station on Mt. Graham, a distance of 125 miles.²⁰ The message was received by a Captain Murray who relayed it from Mt. Graham to Lieutenant Hart in Fort Huachuca, 95 miles away. Murray received an asterisk in the history books, as his was the "second longest flash in the world." The instrument used in making these historic transmissions was a Service Station American mirror, eight inches square.

If later day historians are parsimonious in treating with the heliograph in the 1886 campaign, its chief employer, Gen. Miles was not.

It was remarkable what advantage they (the stations) gave us in observing the movements of the Indians or of the troops in the valley below, in reporting to central stations, and in communicating with the various commands, posts, and stations....²¹

In more specific terms Miles wrote to the Secretary of War in 1886: The reports of Lieutenants Dravo and Fuller will

show the workings of the most interesting and valuable heliograph system that has ever been established....these officers and the intelligent men under them have made good use of the modern scientific appliances, and are entitled to much credit for their important service.²²

It would appear that good use was indeed being made of the heliograph. On the day following Hatfield's scap with Indians in Sonora, Col. Royall notified Miles from Huachuca that he had "put it (the news) at once along the line, and to Dragoon Summit by heliograph. Sent orders by heliograph to Wheeler to move two troops at once to Erie Company Ranch headquarters. This covers south end of Mule Mountains...."²³

Major Beaumont told of Indians passing by heliograph Station Number Five at Antelope Springs and of ordering Budd by heliograph to cross Sulphur Springs Valley and intercept the hostiles. Stated Beaumont, almost apologetically, "It is out of my district, but I suppose my troops are nearest to Number Five."²⁴

That the heliograph was employed as a communications device may be seen by these statistics: In the division of Arizona alone, the total number of messages sent from May 1st to September 30, 1886, was 2,264. Fort Bowie sent out more messages than any other station. 802, followed by Rucker, 284, and Antelope Springs, 241. In one month, July, 432 messages totaling 13,170 words were sent, most of them by the 14 stations in the Bowie and Huachuca districts. A total of 903 messages (28,407 words) were repeated in July, and Fort Huachuca sent 46 messages from the hill top in back of officer's row and repeated 31 others.

The stations in New Mexico sent relatively few messages; the action was in Arizona and Sonora. The station at Bowie Peak repeated 1,644 messages, and the total number of repeated messages in Arizona Territory was 4,463. The average number of words contained in messages was 50, but there were instances where messages exceeded 200 words.

The messages were transmitted and received by some 65 to 70 enlisted men, most trained from scratch. With scanty training, long messages, and the errors inherent in repeating, it is a wonder, that these men performed as well as they did.

Historical controversy over the effectiveness of the heliograph in the Western frontier will continue. Perhaps it is enough to say that the system was used and that those involved with it seemed to be

satisfied with it. In that context, what writers say about it nearly a century later is of little significance.

CHAPTER 13

FOOD, FODDER, AND MULES

It would not be proper to conclude any discussion of the Geronimo campaign without considering its logistical aspects. Accordingly, the following few pages will deal with three of the more important factors: food, transportation, and supplies. Napoleon has been quoted as saying that "an army marches on its stomach," the inference being that soldiers who are properly fed fight well and vice versa. Perhaps this explains why the Geronimo Campaign lasted so long, although fairness suggests that the adversaries were equally underfed. One thinks of the mountains of the southwest as teeming with game and well fed troopers dining upon venison, wild turkey, or antelope each night around a roaring campfire. That is wrong. Constant movement and the need for stealth and surprise prohibited hunting by the troopers on any large scale. Instead, the field commands subsisted almost wholly on supplies purchased on government contract. They were not always first rate.

A certain nostalgia concerning the food of the 1880's persists to this day. The America of that era is yet pictured in many minds as one hugh groaning board filled with delectable culinary delicacies of every sort. Nothing could be farther from the truth. While it is true that the wealthy dined sumptuously, most people were forced frequently to consume spoiled (and sometimes rotten) meat, rancid butter, watered milk and dangerously adulterated foodstuffs. In the absence of refrigeration, perishable goods were vulnerable, and as, often as not, well meaning housewives brought home tainted meat to unsuspecting families.

In the "civilized communities" dairymen were often not content merely to water milk and frequently sought to improve its color by adding chalk, molasses and even plaster of Paris. Butter, put up in cans, was often mixed with casein and water, and sometimes with calcium, gelatin fat and mashed potatoes. In either case, it was transported in unrefrigerated cars and arrived at its destination liquid and malodorous.



Bringing home the bacon (venison) 1886 style! The Fort Huachuca area abounded with game. This was a typical hunting party scene.

Staple diet for frontiersmen was corn and beef, the former roasted, boiled and mashed, made into hoe-cakes, hominy and pudding, and the latter fashioned into stew. Soldiers in the garrisons fared pretty well, having a little better time of it with coffee, molasses, honey and stewed fruits. Those on campaigns were not so fortunate, as their rations were purchased on government contract and frequently spoiled and unfit for consumption upon arrival at military establishments. A survey of official records of the Geronimo Campaign bears this out.

On May 2, 1886, Col. Royall at Huachuca wired Gen. Miles at Willcox that the regimental quartermaster had only 300 pounds of bacon on hand to send to Lawton, and that 2,000 pounds were needed for a three-month field supply.¹ Miles contacted Capt. Thompson in Bowie at once, directing him to supply Royall.² The supply was issued by Captain G. A. Whitney, 8th Infantry, at Bowie Station, and sent on to Fort Huachuca. What use of it was made by Royall or Lawton, if any, is conjecturable as may be seen by the following. Unfortunately there are no papers to tell us what disposition these two officers made of the bacon.

Part of the shipment turned up at Fort Rucker and was served up to unlucky troopers of E and C Troops, 4th Cavalry. As the meat was rotten, the troopers gagged on it and complained. First Lieutenant F. Wheeler, commanding C Troop, wrote a letter to the issuing officer reporting the incident. In his reply Whitney stated:

"...the bacon was part of 6,000 pound ration purchased by Captain Charles P. Eagan at San Francisco in January. There have been numerous complaints about it. I suggest that you call a board of survey..."³

Wheeler called for a board, and two officers of the 8th Infantry, First Lieutenant W. W. K. Fisher and Second Lieutenant E. Hubert, found that: "the bacon in question weighed 446 pounds, was rancid, mildewed, and unfit for use."⁴ Small wonder. Purchased four months earlier 1,100 miles away, it had been transported in unrefrigerated cars, been stored in warm places, and was wholly dependent upon its saline content for freshness.

It was not an isolated case. In August First Lieutenant S. Y. Seyburn, 10th Infantry at Camp Cloverdale, New Mexico, found himself in trouble for issuing bad bacon in the company mess. As at Rucker, a board of inquiry was established and on August 9th found that the bacon was "rancid, wormy, and unfit for issue."⁵ Helping to

exonerate Seyburn was the testimony given by Acting Commissary Sergeant Thomas Burke who testified that the 1,856 pounds of rancid meat was part of a 27,812 pound shipment purchased eight months earlier on the west coast and sent to New Mexico. He added that its poor condition was due to "improper curing and improper packing, combined with climatic causes."⁶ As usual, the real losers were the men of the command who might choose between eating rancid meat or going without.

Most contractors were responsible individuals who did their best to supply edible foodstuffs to the army at a reasonable price. Where rancid meats and spoiled vegetables were concerned, the villains generally were not sharp traders, but distance, time and weather. Meat will spoil eventually, regardless of skill in curing and packaging.

Competition for contracts was keen. A letter from one C. B. Kelton in Tombstone to Captain C. S. Roberts at Fort Bowie solicits a contract for the famous Cochise Country Sheriff John W. Slaughter, who if given the contract would replace Bob Tribolet. Well might he have done so; Tribolet was the scoundrel who sold whiskey to Geronimo during the latter's talks with Crook at Canyon de las Embudos in March 1886.

Price cutting was employed as a gambit for securing contracts. S. B. Reed of Cave Creek offered to supply troops with fresh beef "at such times and in such quantities as may be required, at eight cents per pound."⁷

When government issue was inedible, field commanders frequently bought beeves from ranchers, and troopers would kill the beasts and eat them on the spot. Unfortunately, few commanders carried money on the trail, and those who did were loathe to part with it, appreciating the miraculous tangle of red tape in retrieving it from the government. Hence vouchers were given, leaving the supplier to wrangle with officialdom.

One wistful letter comes from Ernest Ruch writing to Captain C. W. Roberts from San Simon Station on November 12, 1885. He relates that Lt. Britton Davis, 3rd Cavalry, permitted his Indian scouts to slaughter three steers, and that, while six months have passed, he has received neither voucher nor payment. "I beg you to be kind enough to take such action as wel leade (sic) to a speedy settlement of my claim."⁸

Contacted in Corralitos, Chihuahua, Davis answered that his scouts had killed one steer, and that he later learned that they had killed another without his knowledge or permission. Of the third steer, he

knew nothing.⁹ Ernest Ruch was not the first man to find himself "in the middle" in the matter of government fiscal policy.

Leonard Wood's commentary on food is interesting. Admitting that the army ration was supposed to "keep a man alive," he added that soldiers "cannot do a great deal of hard work on it, simply because he gets no meat and as a rule poor bread."¹⁰ Understandably, Wood wrote, "bacon half-cooked and almost entirely fat is hardly attractive, even to a hungry man."¹¹ He goes on to relate that over 50 percent of the bacon issued during the Geronimo Campaign was not eaten. "Had it not been for corned beef and rice, few men would have stood the trip."¹²

Wood remarked on clothing also, calling army issue "totally unfit for service in Sonora."¹³ For one thing, troopers "carried about twice the weight of clothing required. Infantry marched in drawers and undershirts, and found not only that they were much more comfortable this way, but could work more with less exertion. I do not remember seeing a pair of blue pants put on after once wearing the light article mentioned above."¹⁴

"Shoes," wrote Wood, "are totally unfit for field service. They were the cause of much suffering, usually wearing out in six to seven days, and sometimes sooner. The stitching was poorly done and soles fell off. The old brass-screwed shoe was better, but nothing like what it should be. The shoe giving the best result was one similar to the Mexican shoe, and moccasins were the best of all. Some men paid as much as six dollars for a pair of moccasins."¹⁵ If food and clothing were the mainstays of the trooper, his dependence upon mules and wagons was not far behind.

It is impossible to focus too much attention on the value of pack mules in the Indian Campaigns of the southwest. These hardy, patient, sure-footed creatures could carry greater loads than horses, endure longer, and negotiate any sort of country. Without them successful pursuit of elusive and fast-traveling Apache bands would have been impossible. On the homespun side of the issue, they were very much an integral part of southwestern posts and provided a great deal of color to each military establishment, with continual coming and going, laden with field rations and snaking out over the horizon in single file.

Each station in the far-flung Army network of posts had its own quota of pack and draft mules, wagons and supplemental gear. Understandably, commanders seemed insatiable in their demands for

more men, animals, and supplies, and official records of the era are replete with requests and turn-downs.

Over in New Mexico toward the end of Crook's 1885 campaign, most stations were understrength in mules and wagons, and commanders were duly concerned. Posts like Selden, Datil Creek, Hillsboro, and Union had minimum supplies of draft and pack animals and wheeled equipment. On the other hand, Bayard, Stanton, Wingate and Lewis were well supplied with animals, ambulances, escort and spring wagons, saddle blankets and aparejos. Wingate, for example, had 94 draft and 22 pack mules and a veritable wealth of the necessary accoutrements.¹⁶

The aparejo was a heavy leather pack saddle about 30 inches wide and 36 inches long, stuffed to a thickness of about three inches. A wide leather strap extended from the pack backwards under the animal's tail, like a crupper. In design the saddle was crude and awkward, yet effective. The word derives from the Spanish word *parejo* (level), since it was critical that the load be equally balanced lest it chafe the animal's back.

By March 1886 the area Chief Quartermaster, J. M. McGonnigle, was reporting from Whipple Barracks in Prescott that a new distribution would provide Fort Huachuca with eight additional pack mules to the 60 already on hand, obviously in recognition of the special thrust to be made by Capt. Lawton and B Troop, 4th Cavalry. The same communication awarded Fort Grant 18 new mules, while giving 12 each to Bowie and Lowell, eight to Thomas and four to San Carlos, Verde and Mojave. McDowell would have to wait for a new shipment.¹⁷

By April 11th Captain Thomas Moore was reporting to Gen. Miles on the condition of pack mules due to arduous service in the field. Breaking down his report by listing animals under the control of individual packers, such as: Daly, 44; Hays, 44; Rohrer, 44; Dalton, 40; etc. and noting that Delaney's train was distributed among the troops encamped along the border, Moore wrote:

The total number of packs in the field is 408, and of these the five trains in Apache are in condition to do fair work. Houston's, Patrick's, and Moon's trains are thin, and scarcely fit for hard work. Delaney's train is generally made up of sutch (sic) mules as are least calculated for prolonged field service.¹⁸

In a report by McGonnigle on April 13th, it was obvious that although Huachuca had a fair share of pack mule apparatus, the great

hub of activity was Bowie with 90 teams, 370 pack mules, and large numbers of Army, Dougherty, spring and thorobrace wagons.¹⁹ Nine days later, Lt. J. M. Neall, Acting Assistant Quartermaster, 4th Cavalry, at Bowie, was reporting that eight pack trains consisting of 554 pack mules were in the field.²⁰ If the valiant troopers were going to prevail against Geronimo and his slim band on the run, it would not be for lack of supplies and equipment. And what about supplies?

The conquering legions of Rome were as good as their sources of supply as they fanned out to Gaul, Iberia, Thrace, Britain and Africa in the establishment of Empire. Troopers of the American Army in pursuit of the Apache depended equally upon a viable system of supply. Ironically, while the troopers were supplied at fairly frequent intervals even in the field, the quarry was forced to depend upon the land and upon hit-and-run raids while moving. The logistics of the Geronimo Campaign are astounding, and it is nothing short of a miracle that Geronimo's people were able to elude capture for more than 15 months, the final four from the dogged pursuit of Lawton whose men hounded the Apache's every move.

Notwithstanding the heroic and rather epic nature of that hegira, it is of some interest to consider the routine business of providing the needs of war for both garrison and field troops. In May, 1886, for example, Miles was prodding the chief quartermaster at Whipple Barracks to get on with the business of securing bids for cordwood, and to ascertain, if possible, if he might beat the one for \$3.25 per cord already offered.²¹

Also in May, Miles reports Col. Royal at Huachuca as saying he can buy 100 good horses in Phoenix at \$125 per head and asks permission to close the deal. Miles stated also that horses coming in from the east ought to be kept out of the stockyards in St. Louis and Kansas City, and sent west in modern horse cars, lest they arrive in Arizona "diseased and unfit for duty for perhaps six months."²² He concludes by remarking that some of the troops in his command are reduced to 30 men in the saddle, so that 300 horses are needed at once to properly mount the cavalry in Arizona.

On the road Major Kimball wrote to Gen. Miles from Gallup stating that he had put out circulars inviting proposals for the delivery of one and one-half million pounds of baled hay, and an identical amount of oats or barley, to be delivered by the successful bidders at Bowie Station beginning July 1st.²³ Bids would be opened at Santa Fe on June 23rd. Kimball reported that, while waiting for

these proposals he had ordered an additional 98,000 pounds of barley under the existing contract held by a Mr. Haas in Los Angeles, California. Haas complied, sending 100,000 pounds of barley to Bowie Station on June 3rd.²⁴ Whether or not the extra ton of feed was a gratuity by Haas is not known.

The official circular soliciting proposals for the supply of fresh beef is interesting. A large, striking poster printed in bold type, it emanated from Headquarters, Department of Arizona, and called for sealed proposals, in triplicate, by letter (underscored), to be sent to the Chief Commissary of Subsistence, District of New Mexico, Santa Fe, not later than noon, Wednesday, June 23, 1886. Successful bidders would be selected there to furnish fresh beef as might from time to time be required at such places as: Ash Canyon, Cochise Stronghold, Mowry Mine, and Rucker Canyon in Arizona, and in New Mexico at Alamo Viejo, Carrizalillo, Datil Creek, Double Adobe, Horse Springs, Separ, and Camp Henley. There was one station over the line in Mexico, at Palomas.

In the matter of supplies, the army played by the rules, making contracts on competitive bidding and paying for all commodities. Fighting for his life, the Apache did neither but reduced survival to the simple expedients of stealing, butchering and consuming on the spot.

On the Phoenix horse deal, Royall wired Miles in June that he had been able to make the seller come down from \$125 to \$100 per head and that Lt. Mason would proceed from Huachuca to Grant immediately to pick up the horses delivered there. He would meet Mason in Phoenix on the 15th and pick up the remaining horses.²⁵

Economically, Royall introduced a new subject to Miles in the final paragraph of the same message: "Signal fires seen in the Whetstones at 10 o'clock last night."²⁶ The fires might easily be seen on a direct line of vision extending from the post over Babocomari Creek and lowlands sweeping toward the base of the Whetstones 12 miles away.

While Lawton was having his troubles running down Geronimo in Mexico with B Troop, 4th Cavalry, Capt. O. W. Budd, commanding C Troop of the regiment was having his own problems at Fort Bowie. "Sir," wrote he, "I have the honor to report that I have 15 ailing horses, and unserviceable ordinance stores, camp and garrison equipage, and quartermaster stores...."²⁷ As the contemporary vernacular attests: "Things were rough all over."

THE CIVILIAN VOLUNTEERS

As might be expected, there was no lack of enthusiasm on the part of citizens in attempting to help the army during the Apache Campaigns. Most did what most beleaguered citizens would do in comparable circumstances, offer advice and complain. Still, many offered to help and in a variety of ways. Generally, the schemes called for issues of arms and ammunition by the government, so that private groups might form into para-military units of their own. Politely but firmly, the army turned down such propositions. It was difficult enough exercising control over seasoned troops in tactical situations; the presence of a lot of trigger-happy civilians banging away would complicate matters beyond the pale. Still, not all civilian offers were frivolous.

On May 2, 1886, William J. Ross wrote to Col. Royall from Tucson putting forth a scheme to enlist Papago scouts in the army.

Mr Dear Sir: I take the liberty of writing you in regard to a plan that I think will put a stop to the present Indian depredations. I would propose that the government enlist 100 Papagoes on the same terms of the present Apache scouts, with the exception that as they are already mounted, they should be allowed fifty cents per day for each horse. Also, the government should furnish two 40-mule teams with the allowance of one packer to every five mules, in the same manner I had my train organized in 1872 and 1873.¹

Ross went on to describe how packs should be sufficient to keep Papago trackers supplied for 60-day marches, and how the train should be accompanied by a small body of troops for protection. He pointed out that the Papagoes and Apaches were hereditary enemies, and that the latter had a mortal dread of the Papago warrior. "By putting such a command as this on the trail of the hostiles, I would almost guarantee the Apaches would be wiped out in 90 days."²

Also, Ross' strategy was based not so much on confrontation as on movement.

When the expedition is started, every troop of cavalry in southern Arizona should be ordered out at once, not for the purpose of hunting Indians, but simply to locate wood, water, and grass, in other words, to move constantly through the country even if they cover no more than 15 miles each day. You can see what an immense effect 12 or 15 troops of cavalry, moving randomly, day after day, would have on the hostiles. You know perfectly well that you cannot prevent Indian depredations by building posts all over. The only way is to keep troops moving. Indians eluding one troop are apt to run into another.³

Ross concluded his offer with this inducement:

I should be very glad to be of service to you in this matter, and, if possible, would like to be with the Papagoes. I know this country thoroughly, and without being egotistical can say I know something about hunting Apaches. You may use this as your own plan, and if you can induce Gen. Miles to adopt it, I can see big reputation for you in it. It was for doing less than this that Crook was made a brigadier. Let me hear from you at your earliest convenience...⁴

In a sense Ross was a ringer, having served as Crook's aide during the Apache Campaigns of 1872-73 and had considerable field experience. Royall's endorsement to Miles was succinct but favorable.

Ross resigned from the army and failed in business. He commanded a company of citizens a few years ago, went into Mexico and was captured and disarmed. Still, I believe he would make a good scout.⁵

Nine days later Lt. Faison was wiring Miles' adjutant from Tucson that the Papagoes contacted near San Xavier seemed well disposed towards enlisting and that 26 were ready to sign up. An additional 20 or 30 were expected to come in for enlistment on the following day.⁶

Nothing came of it. The Papagoes were indeed the natural enemies of the Apaches and had been conducting their own private war upon them for centuries. If Royall and Miles might agree upon Ross' ability as a tracker, they could not see the wisdom of putting thousands of men in the field in a search for water and grass.

Actually, troops were already in the field, and detractors were making the age-old complaint about too little results for the money expended.

Over in San Carlos an Indian with the unlikely name of Bob McIntosh was being offered work as a scout but would take the job only on his own terms. He refused to enlist but would work as a citizen for \$60 per month.⁷ The army accepted.

In Greaterville William Edwardy was writing to Gen. Miles offering civilian assistance. Alluding to the frequency of Indian raids elsewhere in Arizona, Edwardy had organized the miners and ranchers around Greaterville, Mowry, Sonoita and Patagonia into a force and was seeking help from the army.

We have good men, but what is needed is arms and ammunition. If such can be furnished by the government, I will organize the people in these mountains, and by means of signal fires, all available men concentrated at a given point can be on the way on the shortest notice....I address this to you with the hope that you will furnish arms and ammunition. If this is done you can rest assured that the horrible outrages lately perpetrated by the Apaches in Arizona will not be reenacted in the Santa Ritas....⁸

On May 17th L. C. Hughes, editor of the Arizona Daily (and weekly) Star, wrote to Gen. Miles about a suggestion made by F. G. Hughes, possibly a relation.

...He was clerk to the Indian agent who had charge of the Chiricahuas for several years. He states that he knows every Apache buck of that tribe, over 20 years of age, and that if you desire and will authorize him, he will take half a dozen bucks and arrange to bring every hostile in the field to a point where you can interview them. He must be authorized to give them (the hostiles) certain assurances, however. Mr. Hughes knows what he is about, and I would suggest that you interview him on the point....⁹

In the first days of June, there was a flurry of telegrams between Miles, Thompson and Maj. Kimball, the chief quartermaster for the district, concerning Estevan Ochoa of Tucson. Ochoa had kicked the whole thing off by wiring Miles from Hermosillo after talking to Governor Torres in that city. Ochoa had approached his friend Torres in an effort to solicit help in running down Apache predators,

Geronimo in particular. That was fine, but when Miles heard that Kimball had given Ochoa authority to represent the U.S. Army in Mexico, he was vexed. "Estevan Ochoa telegraphs from Hermosillo that he is acting under your authority. It is not understood what he is doing. Who is he?"¹⁰ Kimball answered Miles saying: "Estevan Ochoa was for 20 years a merchant in Tucson. He is thoroughly reliable and now is engaged in the stock business in Mexico."¹¹ Col. Royall jumped to Ochoa's defense in a communication to Miles.

I will inform you that Estevan Ochoa is very reliable and intelligent. I have known him since 1871. He was once wealthy and used to travel at the head of his immense freight train, and has had many combats with the Indians. He knows this country to the Gulf of Mexico, and is thoroughly acquainted with the Indians south of the border.¹²

Actually, Ochoa had gone to Hermosillo to seek Torres' aid in enlisting the Opatas Indians of that region, like the Papagoes, hereditary and mortal enemies of the Apache. As in the case of the William Ross Papago scheme, nothing came of it. It is surprising though, that Gen. Miles knew nothing of Ochoa until enlightened by Kimball and Royall.

Born in Chihuahua, Mexico, on March 17, 1831, Ochoa first settled in Mesilla, New Mexico, where he established a merchandising business. Later on he operated a chain of stores in Arizona and New Mexico and, as a member of the well known firm of Tully and Ochoa, ran a stage line between Fort Yuma, Tucson and Santa Fe. Also for many years, his was the largest freight line in the southwestern territories. He came to Tucson in 1857 and on January 5, 1875, became the third elected mayor of the old pueblo. His term ended one year later, but the man elected to succeed him refused to take the job, and so Don Estevan agreed to remain in office until the following May when a special election could be held. He donated land for Tucson's first public school. He died on October 27, 1888, in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

On June 3rd Lt. Wilder wired Thompson from Benson telling of six citizens seeking rifles and ammunition from the army to fight Indians. Said Wilder: "I believe they will be used to advantage if sent to Solomon Lick."¹³ The army did not comply.

On the same day Kimball informed Gen. Miles from Nogales that he had appointed C. D. Poston as army quartermaster agent there.¹⁴ The communication is mentioned here only because Poston, the

"Father of Arizona," is such an interesting personality, and because the position of quartermaster agent at that late time in his life must have been something of a come-down. When Arizona had become a territory 10 years earlier in 1863, Charles Debrille Poston had been appointed as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He was elected to Congress in 1864 and was defeated for reelection by Governor John Goodwin. He spent a decade traveling in Europe and Asia, returning to Arizona in 1876. He applied for appointment as Governor of Arizona in 1877 but was instead made Registrar of the U.S. Land Office in Florence, Arizona.

In 1889 Poston was arrested in Washington for using the franks of Senator William M. Stewart of Nevada on his personal mail. The charge was dropped when Stewart insisted that Poston was senile. Poston claimed the title "Father of Arizona" because in his own opinion he had pushed through the territorial bill unassisted. Sadly, Poston dwelt upon that single triumph for some 30 years, somewhat exaggerating his own part in the passage of the legislation. He died in Phoenix on June 24, 1902.

Wilder informed Thompson on June 4th that he had turned over 20 rifles and some ammunition to the firm of Dunbar and Calkins, cattlemen in the Tres Alamos area.¹⁵ Obviously, permission had been given to Wilder for this action, but the situation became clouded when Dunbar and Calkins issued some of the rifles to neighboring Mexicans. Hearing of it, General Miles ordered that the rifles be retrieved at once, a task which delayed Wilder in the execution since the Mexicans were scattered throughout the area, and Dunbar and Calkins "wanted to keep the rifles a little longer anyway."

As it was developing, Miles was deciding that some civilian groups were worthy of federal assistance, even if others were not. He wanted a clear statement of policy on it and so contacted the commander, Department of the Pacific. On June 4th the Acting Adjutant General at the Presidio, McKeever, wired Miles telling him that the Adjutant General of the Army had ruled that there was no authority in law for the issuance of arms to civilians by the army, except under those circumstances provided by several joint resolutions of Congress.¹⁶ In effect these laws ruled that the governor of the state or territory should make the request, not private parties of citizens, nor field commanders. Nonetheless, Miles had already contemplated arming a sizeable body of Arizonans and was seeking a way to circumnavigate existing regulations. McKeever wired Miles on June 7th saying:

The Lieutenant General directs me to acknowledge receipt of your telegram recommending distribution of three thousand rifles in Arizona and to inform you that it has been submitted to the Secretary of War who informed him that he would ask authority of Congress in the matter.¹⁷

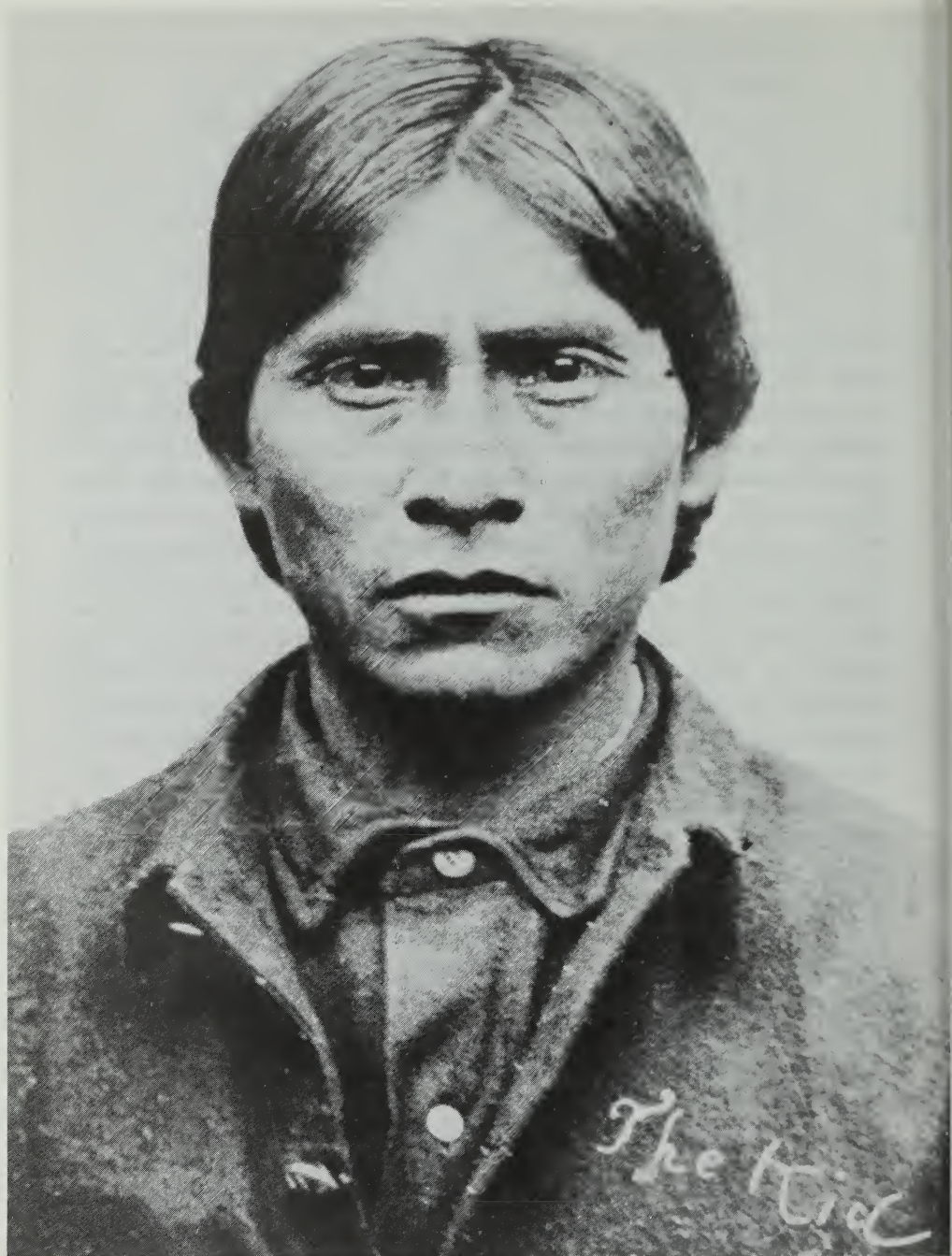
As a follow-up to his June 4th message, McKeever wired Miles again on the fifth relating the division commander's concern over the use of civilian volunteers, promises made to them, and the rumor of bounties supposedly given for killing or capturing Apaches.¹⁸ The rumors were false. At no time did Miles or any of his field commanders pay bounties for dead or captured Apache Indians.

In the long run civilian operations during the Geronimo Campaign were scattered and meagre. Suffering greatly and meaning well, civilians could do little else than make petitions and cry alarm. Understandably, the responsibility for stopping Geronimo fell squarely upon the military.

CALM AFTER THE STORM

Walter Pater, writing in *Marius the Epicurean*, opines: "We need some imaginative stimulus to carry us, year after year, through the routine work which is so large a part of life." With the end of the Apache Wars, life at Fort Huachuca settled into routine, and so it would remain until the era of border troubles attending the great Mexican Revolution of 1910. To be sure, there were sporadic excitements, such as the Wham paymaster robbery of May, 1889,¹ and the flurry caused by Es-ke-be-nadel, the "Apache Kid"² in 1889-1890, but these were in essence "left-overs" from the Apache War period and neither dealt primarily with the soldiers of Fort Huachuca. What follows therefore, until a discussion of the border troubles, is little more than a recitation of facts and anecdotes concerning life at Fort Huachuca in the 24-year time frame, 1886-1910.

It is necessary to observe that this relaxed period started off with a bang, as on the afternoon of May 3, 1887, a sizeable earthquake shook the entire Fort Huachuca area. The fault line seemed to run right through the Huachuca range, from southeast to northwest, and after the initial shock two after-shocks followed at intervals of about 40 minutes. By 4:30 p.m. a heavy pall of smoke hung over the San Jose Mountains, seeming to Col. George Forsyth, commanding Huachuca, as "indicating volcanic action."³ Half an hour later, a column of smoke began to ascend from the highest peak of the Whetstone Range, directly north of the post and about 17 miles away. By 8 p.m. the entire top of the Whetstones was in flames. "As there is no timber on this range and the hills of the vicinity are covered with lava, I think there is no doubt it is an active volcano."⁴ There was no volcano there; the grinding of rocks caused sparks which ignited the dry grass and set the place ablaze. The quake altered the flow of creek beds in the area and caused tons of rock to cascade down from the east face of the Mustang Range. Also, it brought about a major change. It denuded the grassland throughout the area and brought on the mesquite and scrubby timber which abound there now.



The "Apache Kid" (Es-Ke-Be-Nadel, or Ski-Be-Nan-Ted).

In October 1889, Charles L. Douglas came to Fort Huachuca as a member of the 4th Cavalry. He bought the Harris Ranch on the lower Babocomari and went into partnership with the Regimental Quartermaster, First Lt. A. M. Patch. The two men contracted beef for the government, supplying not only Huachuca but the San Carlos Indian Agency as well. In those days "conflict of interest" was not an issue, and no one thought anything about an officer selling beef to his own command. Eventually, Douglas and Patch sold the ranch to "Colonel" William Cornell Greene, millionaire cattleman and miner.⁵ In this transaction the pair received \$10,000 for the land alone and considerably more for the stock and ranch buildings.

The old Douglas ranch house, on the Babocomari about five miles west of the San Pedro, was a large, commodious place furnished with mahogany and rosewood furniture, and equipped with hitching posts and mounting blocks in front. It was torn down by other owners in later years.

On selling this property Douglas became a general contractor and built the first sewer system at Fort Huachuca. In 1913 Douglas received permission to establish a dude ranch at Huachuca. While enroute to the post to settle terms with the commander, he suffered a fatal accident. His body was found in Garden Canyon fouled up in the traces of his team which was contentedly munching on grass when the grisly discovery was made. It was never established whether he met with an accident or was murdered. According to Douglas' granddaughter, Marguerite Vassar, "foul play was strongly indicated."⁶ Douglas was buried in the post cemetery. Patch, whose two sons, Alexander M. Patch, Jr. and Joseph Dorst Patch both attained general officer rank in the army, retired from the army as a captain on March 9, 1891.

By September 1889, the military strength of the Department of Arizona had lessened but was still sizeable, comprised of 57 troops and companies of the line and three companies of Indian scouts. These were widely scattered and stationed at 18 separate posts, at each of which the duties of adjutant, quartermaster, commissary, recruiting, engineer, ordnance and signal officers "could not be properly performed by less than three subalterns."⁷

The three cavalry regiments, including the 4th at Huachuca, totaled 2,134 enlisted men and 1,672 horses, 56 of the latter unserviceable. The appropriation by Congress for the acquisition of cavalry and artillery horses by the army for fiscal year 1890 was \$132,000. Of that sum, \$31,731 was set aside for the Department of

Arizona, an allotment "entirely inadequate for the requirements of the service."⁸

With the general wind-down due to the end of the Apache troubles, the government took a close look at the far-flung western garrisons and began to economize. Wrote Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson (Brevet Major General) commanding the Department of Arizona from his headquarters in Los Angeles:

The posts which can be properly abandoned...are Forts Lowell, Grant, McDowell, Verde, Thomas and Mojave....Fort Huachuca is in good repair and on account of its proximity to the Mexican line and the railroad leading into Mexico, should be retained and fully garrisoned for some years to come.⁹

The army acted with reasonable speed, closing Verde and McDowell on April 10, 1890, Mojave on September 29th of that year, Lowell on April 10, 1891, Thomas on December 3, 1892, and permitting Grant to hang on until 1895. Grant had one final peculiar role. In 1908 Colonel William F. Stewart, of the Artillery Corps took "command" of Fort Grant with a full complement of a caretaker and a cook. He was exiled there by President Theodore Roosevelt after refusing to retire after 40 years of army service. He had been commissioned a second lieutenant in the 4th Artillery Regiment in December 1866 and been brevetted major in 1890 for gallantry in action against Indians at Clearwater, Idaho, in July, 1877. In all he had 42 years of service but simply wasn't ready to retire. What official letters and reprimand had been unable to accomplish, boredom and loneliness did. The stalwart colonel's stay at Grant was a short one.

As for Huachuca, Grierson's remark "should be fully garrisoned for some years to come" was prophetic. The old post is still going strong.

On July 4, 1889, 4th Cavalry baseball players traveled to Tombstone to take on some miners. One usually thinks of baseball games as "pitcher's duels" with respectable scores like 1 - 0, 2 - 1, etc. The "Huachucas" and "Tombstones" must have had shoddy pitching staffs or .500 hitters. At the end of the fourth inning, Tombstone led 10 to 3. By the end of the fifth, it was tied at 11 - 11. In the ninth it was Tombstone 16, Huachuca 14. With Huachuca at bat and closing in, and with two men out, the Huachuca batter lined one into left field bringing in the runner on third base. In a blatant call, the umpire called the runner out at the plate. The visiting nine

quit the field in disgust, vowing never to visit Tombstone again. So flagrant was the call that Tombstone bettors would not take Huachuca money. Asked about the decision, the umpire said: "Well, they robbed us over at the post last time. I just thought it was time to get even."

During the summer of 1890, the 2nd Cavalry Regiment exchanged stations with the 4th in Arizona, in compliance with General Order 22, of the War Department. The Headquarters, Band and Troops D, H, L and M took station at Fort Lowell, Troops A and K at Bowie, E at San Carlos, and Troops B, C, G and I at Fort Huachuca. Troops L and M were inactivated under General Order 79 at Lowell soon after arrival there, but it was more of a paper exercise than anything else, as the men simply moved into other troops in the regiment. Later on, L was reactivated as an Indian scout troop. Some of the 2nd Regiment's troops were in the field in pursuit of the "Apache Kid" who, with several of his followers, murdered Sheriff Glen Reynolds and his deputy, "Hunky Dory" Holmes, near Riverside, Arizona, on the Gila River, November 2, 1889.¹⁰

Troop B left Huachuca early in 1892 to act as an escort for the International Boundary Commission, and Troops C and G accompanied Colonel George Gibson Huntt on an expedition in December 1892 to arrest some Zuni Indian troublemakers over in New Mexico.

Sometime in the fall of 1890, a trooper of the 2nd Cavalry got himself into a fearful scrape with a huge black bear sow up in the Huachucas. Sergeant Anson, with several soldier friends, had wandered off into the hills to bag some venison. Soon he found himself alone. Crouched by a water hole, he saw a deer approach from his front. He was unaware that a bear was behind him until the brute lunged at him, ripping his leg badly with tooth and claw. Anson shot at his assailant and hit her, but she rose upon her hind quarters and knocked his carbine away with one paw while slashing at his face with the other.

The bear lunged. Anson rammed his fist and forearm down the beast's throat while reaching for his knife. With his hand in the bear's maw, and she slashing with wicked, scimitar-like claws, and the two rolled down the hill together, grunting, squealing and shouting.

Hearing the racket, Anson's hunting companions rushed upon the scene to find him lacerated and bleeding, but conscious. The bear, unwilling to face a battery of brave men like Anson, ran up the hill, grabbed the carbine in her mouth, and crashed off through the

underbrush. Anson's face was grotesquely ripped, and he carried the deep scars for life. The Huachuca Mountains were good deer country, but the risks for soldier nimrods were numerous: cloudbursts, rattlesnakes and several denizens of tooth and claw.

On October 16, 1891, Headquarters, Band and Companies F and I of the 11th Infantry arrived at Huachuca, in compliance with Army General Order 77. Commanding the regiment was Colonel Isaac D. DeRussy, who continued in that capacity until May 4, 1892, when relieved by Lieutenant Colonel David Stuart Gordon, 2nd Cavalry. It was in 1890 that Achille Luigi Carlo La Guardia came to Fort Huachuca as a member of the 11th U.S. Infantry. Normally, special mention might not be made of the appearance of the regimental bandmaster, but normally regimental bandmasters do not sire mayors of New York City; Achille did, his son Fiorello assuming that awesome responsibility in 1934 and maintaining it until 1945.

Achille came to Huachuca by a circuitous route. Born in Foggia, Italy, in March 1849, Achille claimed both Italian and Spanish antecedents, a reasonable attitude since Foggia, then a part of the Kingdom of Sicily, had been conquered by Spain in the 15th century. Achille married Irene Coen in June 1880 in a civil ceremony performed by the Major of Trieste, one Rici Bazzoni. Mixed marriages were fairly commonplace among Jews in southern Europe then, particularly when the non-Jewish partner expressed an indifference to religion. While Fiorello's mother declared herself as "Israelita" on the marriage certificate, Achille boldly scrawled the word "nessuna" - nothing.

Fiorello La Guardia was born in New York City on December 11, 1882. Three years later, his father, Achille, joined the army and was assigned to the 11th Infantry. He served at Fort Sully, North Dakota, and Madison Barracks, New York, before coming to Fort Huachuca in 1890.

At Huachuca the social status of the La Guardia family was unique. While he ranked third among the noncommissioned officers of the post in terms of seniority and assignment, he was still a noncom and, as such, inferior to those who lived along Officer Row. Still, he was not grizzled and tough in the normal old-soldier syndrome and was not readily acceptable to that close - knit fraternity. He was a musician, quiet, contemplative and serious. His was a middle-class home, filled not with trophies of war but with books, paintings and stringed instruments.



Bandmaster Achille La Guardia, 11th Infantry, and family, Fort Huachuca, 1896. Boy with cornet is Fiorello, who became the mayor of New York City in the 1930's. (Note: The 11th Infantry was not at Fort Huachuca in 1896. Possibly La Guardia was transferred to the 15th Infantry which was there).

Cultured guests from Tucson and beyond were visitors in the La Guardia home, and the truth of the matter was that Achille looked upon himself as a cut above his peers. Life at Huachuca (and later Prescott) provided Fiorello with an appreciation for the finer things, but it also gave him tough-mindedness and compassion for the underdog. While in his adult life he was a professional politician, cunning, tough, and ambitious, basically he was a reformer, against privilege, for the people, and a maverick where party doctrine was concerned. Because of his origins, he was intensely conscious of his identification and sensitive to the issue of race relations in big city life.

Fiorello La Guardia attributed his hatred of social injustice to the political corruption he witnessed in Arizona during his youth. He deplored the behavior of Indian agents who swindled their Indian charges. At twelve years of age, he witnessed armed troopers of the 11th Infantry protect the property of the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad during the Pullman Strike of 1894. "How is it," he asked, "that soldier bayonets should defend only employers, not workers?"

The engaging family portrait was taken at Fort Huachuca sometime in 1891. The round-faced, long-stockinged boy with the bugle is Fiorello, aged nine. Looking at this likeness, it is not too difficult to picture him reading the funny papers to the children of New York City over the radio almost half a century later.

In 1894 pullman strikers in Colorado seized the Union Pacific, Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, and the Denver Gulf Railroads, which had been given over to receivers of the circuit court. The strikers were encouraged by the behavior of Eugene V. Debs who went to jail for defying a court injunction during the Pullman Strike. Indeed, it was while in jail that Debs turned solidly towards socialism and joined in founding the Socialistic Industrial Workers of the Socialist Party. Consequently, he became the Socialist Candidate for the Presidency of the United States in five elections, the last time while serving a jail sentence in an Atlanta penitentiary. President Theodore Roosevelt called Debs an "undesirable citizen." To his adoring followers he was slightly lower than the angels.

In Trinidad, Colorado, violence was employed to wrest the trains from the strikers, who had disregarded all court orders and even seized a number of marshals hired to guard railroad property. In this impasse, the department commander ordered six companies of the 24th Infantry to move from Huachuca and Fort Bayard to Trinidad and other trouble spots in Colorado. Companies C and H moved by

rail to Colorado in July, but the trouble was short-lived. By September the men were back on post.

Generally, it is conceded that the cessation of Apache troubles came with the surrender of Geronimo. In a large sense this is true, if "troubles" is measured in terms of large bodies of men coming and going, extended field operations, costly logistical considerations and kindred factors. Still, there were sporadic outbreaks after 1886 and even as late as 1918. One of these occurred in March 1896, when Apaches killed a sheep herder in the Cave Creek area.

On hearing about it, Colonel David Douglas Van Valzah sent A Troop from Fort Grant under the command of Lieutenant Sedgewick Rice. Rice took the command into the Chiricahuas and there found a trail which led into New Mexico near Animas Valley. Subsequently, the Apache trail vanished, and A Troop returned to its home station.

Emboldened by their success, the Indians began a series of raids on both sides of the international line. In April Lieutenant Edwin Bullock left Huachuca with a troop of the 7th Cavalry and went into Mexico where he joined forces with Mexican troops.¹¹ Together they began an exhaustive campaign against the Apache marauders. In order to apprehend the renegades, should they turn north, Lt. Rice stationed detachments at Cloverdale, San Bernardino and Guadalupe Canyon. It was at the latter place that contact was made during the first week in May, but the troopers, eager to get at their quarry, fired prematurely scaring the enemy off.

In June another expedition was formed at Huachuca and placed under the command of Captain Peter S. Bomus. The expeditionary force consisted of A Troop, 1st Cavalry, F Troop, 7th Cavalry, and a detachment of Indian scouts. In this campaign Lieutenant William ("Hoss") Yates came upon Indians camped in the mountains some 50 miles south of San Bernardino and gave them battle. The fighting was desultory with the Indians breaking off after a while. Yates' men killed no one but came into possession of some food and blankets in the temporary camp. By July the rainy season had begun, washing out all trails in the daily downpours. The expedition was recalled to Fort Huachuca.

In August 1896, the Post Commander at Huachuca, Colonel John Mosby Bacon, sent A Troop, 1st Cavalry, west to the small mining community of Harshaw on an expedition. Simultaneously, he left the post with Companies C and H, 24th Infantry, to go to Nogales where rampaging Yaqui Indians threatened the town. Yaquis had staged an

attack on the Mexican Customs House on August 12th, not so much for the money kept there but for a sizeable store of arms and ammunition. The attack failed, but the townspeople were terrified.

Reports persisted that the Yaqui contingent was somewhere in the vicinity of Tubac, so Bacon sent K Troop, 7th Cavalry, to work with Troop A, 1st Cavalry at that place. Company C, 24th Infantry, joined the other outfits, but the fighting there yielded only three Yaqui prisoners.¹² There was some talk of a large Yaqui camp over near Greaterville. Rather than launch his weary men on another goose chase, Bacon wisely sent a deputy marshal to Greaterville to reconnoiter. There was no camp, and so the troops returned to Huachuca.¹³

In Poor Richard's Almanac, Ben Franklin observes: "He that can take rest is greater than he who can take cities." The troopers of Huachuca had no opportunity to take cities in the quiet period between 1900 and 1910 but certainly had ample time for repose. Virtually nothing happened. In the fall of 1900, a cowboy was arrested by Mexicans in Naco, and his buddies made overtures to rescue him and shot up the town. Major B. M. Hughes nipped the scheme in the bud by sending a troop of the 9th Cavalry to the border. The appearance of the black troopers quenched the fires in Yankee and Mexican breasts.

In June 1906, disgruntled miners rioted against the Consolidated Copper Mines at Cananea, threatening not only Col. Greene's enormous holdings, but endangering American lives. Upon receiving urgent requests for help from the American Consul in that Mexican mining town, the Post Commander at Huachuca, Major Charles Henry Watts, dispatched the 1st Squadron, 5th Cavalry, to the border. American troops did not cross the line, and so an international incident was narrowly avoided. As it was, a volunteer group of Americans, led by Arizona Ranger Captain Thomas Rynning, did go to Cananea, and that group's presence in the beleaguered community very likely forestalled wholesale slaughter of Americans. The riot was quelled by Emilio Kosterlitzky, then a Lieutenant Colonel in La Guardia Nacional, and Deputy Commander, 3rd Zone, Gendarmeria Fiscal.¹⁴ Kosterlitzky rounded up the ringleaders, shot some, and hung others on a huge old tree on the edge of town. So unpopular was the action of Civil Governor Rafael Yzabal in permitting Rynning's volunteers to enter Mexico, that, when he came up for reelection he was overwhelmed at the polls.

In April 1943, an old soldier by the name of Pettibone wrote to Lt. Col. John H. Healy at Huachuca reminiscing about his service on post at the turn of the century. He told an interesting story about one of the post's early schools.

According to Pettibone, the Post Commander, Major Charles Mallon O'Conner, conceived the idea of establishing a school for soldiers who had perforce quit their education early. A suitable building was found, equipment was rounded up, and a volunteer teacher engaged to conduct classes. There were no takers. "We joined the army to get away from school, not to prolong it," said one bemused trooper.

It seemed a shame to let the idea die-a-borning though. Some one remembered that the post signal sergeant had two lovely little girls, aged seven and nine, and that they were receiving no schooling. Also, Maj. O'Conner had two teenage boys, 15 and 13, and a daughter about 11. With this class of five pupils, the Fort Huachuca school opened its doors, with invitations to civilians and residents to send their children in if they so desired. The school was an immediate success. Ranchers from all over the country side put their children in the school, one child of 13 and her 11 year old brother riding in from Montezuma Ranch five days a weeks. The curriculum must have been solid. William and Edward O'Conner, the post commander's boys, made it to West Point and became Regular Army officers. In a modest way the school achieved widespread recognition and was written up in the January 17, 1903, issue of the Army and Navy Journal. A far cry from the Whitside, Young, Johnson and Myer Schools, and especially the brand new and ultra-modern Smith School on post, their early precursor was the pioneer in Fort Huachuca elementary education and so rates kudos of its own.

Pettibone, incidentally, must have been something of a tough trooper, and one who didn't mind paying the piper for the simple pleasures available at Huachuca in 1903.

Many a time I have left Huachuca early in the morning and rode across the San Pedro River down to Naco for an all-night party, then get up and rode back to the post. Sometimes I did that just to see a bullfight on the other side of the line. There were no roads. We just took a bee-line toward some peak in the Mule Mountains and kept going till we hit the river. Once I took a three-day leave to help

Tombstone celebrate the arrival of the first railroad engine into town.

Once I went on sick call with an ulcerated tooth. The contract doctor said: "Sergeant, I can't pull your tooth - I don't have a pair of pliers," I had to go to Tucson and pay for it myself. I had a short tour as orderly to General Arthur MacArthur. He was a wonderful man and an ideal officer. With kindest regards and personal respects.¹⁵

In 1909 soldiers of the 18th Infantry at Huachuca almost embarked upon an exotic assignment. The War Department contemplated establishing an "aviatory" on the top of Huachuca Peak and planned to select ten men from each company for the special training relating to this scheme.¹⁶ Modern dictionaries do not contain the word "aviatory," but, from the documents discussing the program, it appeared to be a weather and aerial navigation station for use by signal corps pilots operating out of Huachuca. Ten Wright Brothers biplanes were contracted for, and training was to commence in March of 1910, with aircraft coming in early in May. Nothing came of the aviatory scheme. Considering the state of the art in 1910, it is not surprising.

It was in 1909 that "influential persons" in southern Arizona made an attempt to move Fort Huachuca from its position at the mouth of Huachuca Canyon to a point midway between Bisbee and Douglas.

Whichever gets the plum will not be envied by the Huachuca neighborhood as they argue that the present military reserve will be the site for an ideal gold mining camp, which is bound to happen, just as soon as the government sees fit to abandon it for military purposes. That the fort will be moved there is no doubt, as some of the strongest influences in the territory are working on it. When it is taken into consideration that none of the strategic points will be jeopardized by the move, but will be strengthened by the post's being placed at a railroad point, it seems logical to abandon the present post site. Another good point in favor of abandonment is that the air is warmer in the vicinity of Bisbee and Douglas than in the lofty Huachucas.¹⁷

Indeed it is, soaring over 100 degrees in the spring and late summer, offering no match in comfort to the cool atmosphere of Fort Huachuca. Obviously, the staff writer for the Tombstone Epitaph was making a case, or trying to, and obviously the influential persons were not influential enough. Despite political pull, dreams of gold mines, and spurious comparisons of the weather, Huachuca stayed put, and its residents still enjoy the invigorating mountain air.

No story of Fort Huachuca would be complete without generous mention of Sam Kee, the "Cantonese Paymaster." Incredible as it may seem, Sam once came to the army's rescue and paid off the troops at Huachuca when Congress failed to appropriate money on schedule in one of its sessions. It all happened like this.

One day in the 1880's, the stage pulled in from Benson and a small oriental gentleman climbed out. Sam Kee had come from Canton, in south China, and sailed away to California to seek his fortune. There he grew up, and in the coolie labor camps of the Union Pacific Railroad he learned to cook, not just line-camp slum-gullion, but delicious things like pressed duck, wonton, egg foo-yong and other Chinese favorites.

On arrival at Huachuca, Sam made a beeline for the C.O.'s office and asked permission to build and operate a restaurant on post. In those days things were simpler, and since the colonel had no need to placate trades unions, consumer groups, merchants and official Washington, he gave Sam permission on the spot. This was great for the soldiers. While the mess cooks were fair, as mess cooks went, they stayed mainly with the staples: beef, hash, potatoes and onions, coffee, pudding, and now and then a little wild honey for dessert. A post restaurant offering delicacies promised to be an exciting addition, and it was.

Sam put up a shack on a back road of the post, up near Huachuca Canyon Creek. Later on he built another one adjoining the parade ground. It became the mecca for gourmet diners, military and civilian. Troopers, weary of the thrown-together meals by army cooks, could always go to Sam's place and at nominal cost feast upon stuffed duck, steak, venison, and top off these culinary delights with an assortment of sweets unavailable elsewhere.

One of Sam's regular customers was Contract Surgeon Leonard Wood. As a matter of fact, Wood's first meal on post was taken in Sam's restaurant. History doesn't record the menu, but it does inform that the soldier-doctor and the Chinese cook hit it off right from the start. Wood and his cronies were frequent dropper-inners at

Sam's place. While basking in Wood's patronage, Sam was no snob. He was as friendly to troopers as he was to officers and carried most of them on the cuff between paydays. A genial, smiling, friendly man, he was liked and admired by all.

Years passed. One June, Congress, hopelessly entangled in endless filibuster, allowed the fiscal year to end without appropriating next year's pay for the military. Came payday and no money for the troops. The men were incredulous. The grumbling was low-key at first but swelled soon to a crescendo of outraged howls. The post commander sent telegrams to Washington but received only evasive replies. More than the command's honor was at stake; its existence was on the line.

Sam was not only a good cook; he was a first rate business man. He had worked hard and put away money for the inevitable return to China. When the crisis was at its height, he stepped quietly into the colonel's office and said: "Colonel, sir, I have money. I pay soldiers." And he did, delighting the disgruntled troopers and bailing the army out of a nasty situation.

People forget. Some years later a new C.O. came to Huachuca and, like the proverbial new broom, began to sweep clean. One of his first targets was Sam's place. Sam, stung by the criticism, was directed to spruce up or clear out. He moved too slowly to suit the commander and was ordered to close up and move on. Hurt but unabashed, Sam gave himself three days leave to straighten matters out.

To this day no one knows where Sam Kee went, who he saw, or what he said and did about his ouster. Some say he went to Douglas to send an urgent message. Some say Tucson, but no one knows. At the end of three days, he returned to Huachuca, but a cryptic message from Washington had preceeded him. It was a telegram to the post's commander from the Secretary of War, and it read: "Withhold action against Sam Kee until advised by this office." There was no followup, then or ever.

Who caused the Secretary of War to send the "cease and desist" message? Well, no one came forward to admit authorship, but the timeframe of the incident is revealing. Leonard Wood became the United States Army Chief of Staff on April 22, 1910, and remained in that capacity until relieved by Major General William W. Wotherspoon on April 21, 1914.

The story seems to be apocryphal in the sense that no one seems to know exactly when it occurred. Nonetheless, veteran officers of the post seem to agree that it took place in 1911.¹⁸ Numerous

veterans of the 12th Cavalry and 18th Infantry have attested to it, as have Colonel Clarence O. Brunner and Major General John B. Brooks. Brooks arrived at Huachuca in December 1913, as a second lieutenant, 10th U.S. Cavalry, and recalled that people were still talking about Sam Kee's generosity. In April 1962 former Sergeant Roy L. Innes, 12th Cavalry, visited Huachuca, and related to the post historian, Orville A. Cochran, his presence on post in 1911 when Sam paid the troops. Post records show that Troops I and K of the 12th reported to Huachuca on February 16, 1911, and departed on December 4th of that year. All of the ingredients are there, even if the "bottom line" continues to be elusive. In a Tucson Daily Star obituary notice concerning John D. Kim (Sam Kee's grandnephew), released on December 28, 1960, these words appeared: "...his grandfather (sic), Sam Kee, won fame and the permanent right to a restaurant concession on the post when he paid off troops stationed there and the army payroll was delayed...."¹⁹

Sam Kee ran his restaurant for many years, and, if the sparkling cleanliness of early years mellowed into dusty sideboards and fly-specked windows, he still put out the best chow on post. The writer remembers eating there many times as a boy in 1918, when the restaurant was located in the basement of the old theatre and amusement hall (now Brayton Hall) upon the west end of the parade ground. Eventually, Sam turned the place over to his nephew, Mar Kim, who carried on in the tradition of his uncle. By then the restaurant was located in a stone building on the northeast corner of the parade ground. Where Sam Kee had served troopers of the 1st, 2d, 4th, 7th, 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments, his nephew served meals to the men of the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments.

Today this old restaurant building (Mar Kim Hall) is used as a civilian payroll and travel-pay center. Where once was heard the low-pitched conversation and gentle laughter of happy diners, one now hears the cacaphony of clacking typewriters and the nervous jangle of insistent telephones. In time all things changed, and "this too shall pass away."

With all the respect and stature achieved by Sam, he had his troubles. Prior to 1904 smuggling alien Chinese into Arizona via Mexico was no special problem. The immigration service had developed no system to combat illegal entry and there was no border patrol. Hence Chinese skipped across the border almost at will. In April President Theodore Roosevelt appointed Jeff Milton as a border patrol officer to operate in the Huachuca area.

Routes of travel generally were selected by smugglers and followed the most inaccessible trails imaginable, despite the relative ease in gaining illegal entry. Milton, a tough line-rider and excellent shot, made successful crossings far less frequent. One smuggling trail followed the Altar Valley to Sonoita, thence northwest into Tucson. Another came up over the burro trails out of Cananea, down the San Pedro River Valley, and into the communities of Fairbank, Tombstone and Huachuca. Far-flung and lonely trails, they were closely watched by Milton, tireless in the saddle.

Once, about 1907, Jeff Milton was poking around Huachuca on the trail of Chinese immigrants and dropped in at Sam Kee's restaurant. He noticed a loose floor board and pried it open. Just below the floor's surface were two cylindrical objects covered with grey cloth. While Sam tried to con Milton into believing the objects were water pipes, the agent unhooked his tin star and prodded the objects with the pin. "Ouch!" yelled the man whose legs were so cruelly jabbed.

Kee tried to buy Milton off, but he wouldn't budge. A deportation trial was held in Tucson, and the man, by virtue of a convincing story, or a shrewd lawyer, or both, was permitted to remain in Arizona Territory.

In 1912 the 4th Cavalry Regiment returned to Huachuca after an absence of 22 years. Wrote Colonel Augustin G. Rudd to post historian Orville Cochran in June 1965.

...I have not the date when I took A Troop to Nogales to establish the camp which later became Camp Little but I believe it was in August or September of 1912. Later on, other troops of the squadron came to Nogales under the command of Captain Cornelius C. Smith. On December 6th, the 1st Squadron left Nogales for Fort Huachuca, and soon thereafter the whole regiment made a permanent change of station to Schofield Barracks, Hawaii, relieving the 5th Cavalry at that station.²⁰

It was in this time sequence that Huachuca troops became involved in continuous border patrol duty, owing to Mexican Revolutionary troubles.

TROUBLE ON THE BORDER

Situated 20 miles north of the Mexican border, Fort Huachuca has always been in a sensitive position vis-a-vis Mexican-American relations. Indeed, the site was in large degree selected because of its proximity to Mexico in the days when marauding Apaches employed the wilds of Chihuahua and Sonora as havens. It followed, therefore, that troops stationed at Huachuca would, to some degree, become involved during the great Mexican Revolution of 1910-1920.

Porfirio Diaz became the President of Mexico for the eighth time on October 4, 1910. There can be no doubt that his harsh and repressive measures and his reluctance to let the people share in Mexico's wealth caused the cataclysmic upheaval. Ironically, Don Porfirio's 26 years of rule marked Mexico's greatest period of prosperity, with both domestic and foreign interests developing resources on a lavish scale. Moreover, relations between Mexico and the United States were friendly, and, except for scattered and minor incidents along the border through the years, peace prevailed.

At home the result of Diaz' persuasive and strict patrimony was absolute law and order. There was banditry on the frontier and in isolated places, but people in the cities were safe. Army units and special elite police forces, La Gendarmeria Fiscal, patrolled the rough frontier keeping lawlessness at a minimum. The rich lived in luxury, sent their children to school in Europe, and blessed Don Porfirio.

It seemed, therefore, that everyone loved the grand old man, except the people, and they were abjectly poor. Most were Indians - Yaquis, Tarahumaras, Zapotecs, Toltecs, Mayas, and almost all were illiterate. The total wealth of the country was held by less than three per cent of the people, and, under the existing laws and customs, lands kept accruing to those already in possession of the vast estates.

The Finance Minister, Jose Limantour, built up a treasury surplus of some 63 million gold pesos by economizing and by obtaining loans from foreign investors; he paid the army and financed government programs.

With Diaz' election in 1910, came the first ominous rumblings of discontent. Guerrilla bands appeared throughout Mexico, and soon the revolution spread. Roving bands of gunmen were recruited in hamlets across the land, and farmers left their cornfields to carry rifles and don bandoliers. Pascual Orozco fell upon Ciudad Juarez and took it. Bitter and incredulous, Diaz was forced to flee for his life. On May 25, 1911, he packed a few belongings and was whisked out of the capital to Vera Cruz, and there put aboard the German gunboat "Ypiranga" waiting to take him on board.

Francisco de la Barra became the interim Chief of State but not for long. Soon elections were held, and Francisco Madero and his running mate, Jose Pino Suarez, were elected. From the outset the Madero regime was tenuous. Orozco threatened from the north, Zapata from the south. Slow to consolidate his gains, Madero faltered on the issue of land distribution and peones felt betrayed. Madero sent Victoriano Huerta against Orozco in a bloody encounter. Huerta crushed the Orozco rebellion.

In February 1913, a group of dissident generals met at La Ciudadela, Mexico City's chief army garrison. Bernardo Reyes and Felix Diaz were taken from their cells and the group moved on to the national palace to kill Madero. General Lauro Villar got there ahead of them and set up forces to protect the president. In the ensuing fracas Reyes was killed and Villar wounded.

Ten days of fighting racked the national capital (The "Tragic Ten," February 9 - 19). It was a bad time for everyone, with machine guns, rifle fire and grenades cutting down innocent people in the streets. On February 19th Huerta gave a dinner party to honor Gustavo Madero, the president's brother. After dinner the two went to La Ciudadela on some pretext made by Huerta, and there in the early hours of Thursday, February 20th, Madero was murdered by his treacherous host. General Aureliano Blanquet then seized Francisco Madero, Pino Suarez and General Felipe Angeles in the palace and placed them under guard.

A provisional government was announced with Victoriano Huerta as its head. Several nights later, on February 22nd, Madero and Suarez were taken from the palace and shot. The bullet-riddled bodies of the two unfortunate men were dumped rudely by the walls of the city jail.

Heartily sick of all the Mexican troubles, foreign governments, the United States among them, were glad to see a strong man at the helm again and most moved quickly to recognize Huerta. But he had his

share of enemies at home: Carranza, "Pancho" Villa,¹ Zapata, Obregon and others. Called "the butcher" by his detractors, Huerta was indeed a fearsome individual.

Huerta's move to reintroduce Porfirismo pleased some and dismayed others. Carranza denounced Huerta's acts as unconstitutional. Zapata railed at him from Morelos. Obregon began organizing his Yaquis up in Sonora, and "Pancho" Villa gathered his famous "Dorado" cavalry for the application of his favorite tactic - "Un golpe terrifico."

Disenchanted with Huerta's excesses, President Woodrow Wilson recalled the U.S. Ambassador and stated categorically: "Huerta must go!" But Huerta would not oblige. Instead, he obtained arms from the Germans to beat off the rebels hounding him from all sides.

Then an unexpected thing happened, serious enough in its consequences to put an end to the Huerta masquerade. A few American Marines, on shore leave in Tampico, were arrested on some pretext and held for several hours before being released with apologies. The apologies did not suffice. Wilson ordered Admiral Fletcher to proceed to Vera Cruz, land, and establish martial law. Pandemonium ensued. American flags were torn down, trampled, and spat upon, and the Mexican Press, with indignant, livid prose, had a field day. But Huerta was through.

It was against this chaotic background that troops at Fort Huachuca were kept on the qui vive during the Mexican Revolutionary years. One episode involving troops of the 5th Cavalry in 1913 will serve to show how American soldiers were employed in that era.

Until the March 13, 1913, fight at Nogales, between the Mexican federal force under Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky and the rebel army of Alvaro Obregon, Nogales was the only Sonoran borderline town which had not suffered a full scale clash of arms during the Mexican Revolution. One very nearly took place on May 5, 1911, but was averted. From 1911 on, therefore, U.S. troops were in and out of borderline positions until the more pressing considerations of the First World War caused the return of General Pershing's Punitive Expedition of 1916-17.

The revolt in Baja California in 1911, led by the Flores-Magon brothers, resulted in the placing of American forces near Mexican border towns in March 1911 and in February and September 1912. In August 1912 newspapers in both countries were carrying banner headlines about the American show of force. The Commander of the

Department of California, General Walter S. Schuyler, was directed by the Chief of Staff (Leonard Wood) to proceed to the southern boundary of his department and to assume personal charge of the disposition of U.S. troops there.

Wood reasoned that the breakup of Orozco's army was creating a serious situation in the border towns, and that American interests on both sides of the line would be jeopardized. He wired General Steever at Fort Bliss to ascertain his need for additional troops, to be furnished from Schuyler's command.

Thus it was that Capt. Cornelius C. Smith, commanding G Troop, 5th U.S. Cavalry, was sent from Fort Huachuca to Nogales to protect American lives and property in the event of clashes between federal and insurgent forces on the other side of the line. While there, he befriended the federal commander, Kosterlitzky, and the two exchanged visits in their respective officers' messes. Kosterlitzky, in realistic appraisal of his precarious position, where enemy forces were numerically superior to his own, informed Smith that he might have to cross the line and surrender to the Americans if overwhelmed.

Kosterlitzky commanded a combined force of rurale and regular troops, numbering 285 men. Of these, 225 were men of his own Gendarmeria,² and 60 were regular Mexican army soldiers commanded by Lt. Col. Manuel Reyes. Anticipating a large enemy column from the south, Kosterlitzky put his men in field positions on the hills commanding the approaches to Nogales. The hills had euphonious names: "Los Locos," "Ojeda," "Deposito del Agua," "Ranchito," "Panteon" and "Distrito."³

General Obregon moved up to Nogales in easy stages from Hermosillo, leaving that city on Thursday, March 6th, and proceeded via Magdalena, Alizos Canyon, Imuris and Cibola.⁴ He brought about 1,000 constitutionalistas into position on the south edge of Nogales and was augmented by about 500 Yaqui Indian reserves which were not employed in the fighting.

It was understood by both forces that American soldiers were on the other side of the international line and would fire upon those Mexican troops careless enough to deliver fire on the American side. This would, of course, put Kosterlitzky in a precarious position, as he could ill-afford to be caught in a crossfire, and as Obregon would be firing generally on a south-north axis. Obregon's forces would be the guilty ones, but Kosterlitzky would have to pay the price.

Captain Smith put out strong patrols on the U.S. side and placed his men where they could deliver the most telling fire upon the Mexicans if necessary. Also, he ordered the streets cleared on the U.S. side. Now he had two troops of cavalry from Huachuca; A Troop had joined G when M.I.D.⁵ agents had warned of impending trouble in Mexican-Nogales. Smith wired his regimental commander, Col. Wilber Elliott Wilder for additional troops. On Wednesday evening, March 12th, these troops arrived with Lieutenant Colonel Daniel C. Tate, who then assumed command on the American side.

The battle began at daybreak on Thursday, March 13th, and ended about twelve hours later. As might be expected, bullets flew over the line like hail, peppering buildings and houses everywhere. Several people on the American side were hit by stray bullets: Private Allen A. Umfleet of G Troop, 5th Cavalry; Leopoldo Nuñez the federal stamp tax agent for Nogales (Sonora); Hilario Perez, a small boy playing in his yard on Elm Street, and Pablo Rubio. Mrs. H. W. Kelsey was understandably startled when a stray bullet ripped through her skirt and embedded itself in the newel post of her front porch. A number of American homes were ripped by bullets, among them those belonging to Sheriff McKnight, W. A. Edwards, William Schuckman and Fred Von Mourick.

When Pvt. Umfleet was hit on the evening of the 13th, Col. Tate issued orders for an immediate ceasefire on the Mexican side, informing both commanders that his men were in position at the top of Crawford Street and would open fire within minutes if his summons was ignored. Tate then had his bugler sound the Mexican retreat call. It was taken up by federal buglers, and soon Kosterlitzky's men were coming out of their hill entrenchments and gathering before the customs house on the corner of Calle Campillo and Calle Pesqueria.

The federals trooped across the line, crossing over Ignacio Bonillas Bridge, and stacked arms along Calle Internacional and Sonoyta Avenue. Waiting there to take the surrender was Capt. Cornelius Smith with Troops G and A, 5th Cavalry. An apocryphal story concerning Kosterlitzky's last moments in Mexico relates that, as he and his men were preparing to cross the border, a mob of Mexicans began to taunt and jeer him because he had chosen to surrender to Americans. In a moment, brickbats were flying, and the situation was chaotic.

At Kosterlitzky's command, the rurales unsheathed sabres and rushed the mob, swinging viciously. The streets, according to the

legend, were strewn with bloody corpses.⁶ It is an interesting and colorful tale, but it didn't happen. The last moments of Emilio Kosterlitzky and his rurales in Mexico were unattended by histrionics; there was only resignation and sadness in leaving their homeland.

J. B. Mix, the U.S. Customs official, relates that as Kosterlitzky crossed over he said: "Well, Jim it is all up. We have done our best, but will have to give up."⁷

Romaine Fielding, International Red Cross representative, later congratulated Kosterlitzky on surviving the battle. Said the old warrior, sadly: "I wish it were otherwise."⁸

Perhaps as illuminating as any reports on the Kosterlitzky-Obregon episode are reminiscences of Capt. Smith and his teenage son, Graham. The captain's remarks appeared in a letter written to the western writer Joe Chisholm on July 26, 1932.

Dear Mr. Chisholm: I have read your Kosterlitzky article in *Touring Topics* with great interest. When I tell you that for many years he was my friend, and that he surrendered to me in Nogales, Arizona, on March 13, 1913, you will, I feel, not take it amiss if I point out one or two discrepancies in your story.

I feel that I knew Kosterlitzky about as well as any American in Nogales at the time, as I was in intimate contact with him for several months, while he commanded Nogales, Sonora, and I in Nogales, Arizona. On the morning of March 12, 1913, he sent an orderly to my camp with a note inviting me to lunch with him at his quarters in Sonora. The note also stated that he had some information for me. As it turned out, I already had the information, received earlier from our secret service - news of Obregon's advance upon Nogales.

I had lunch with Don Emilio. As closely as I can recall his words, they were about as follows: "Obregon is on his way here with about 2,500 men. I will fight him of course, but am at a disadvantage with less than 300 rurales and a few regular troops under Lt. Col Manuel Reyes. If I have to surrender, I'll cross the line and surrender to you."

Just before dark on the following evening, both Kosterlitzky and Reyes came across the line with

their forces, after an all-day fight with Obregon. A place was designated to deposit their arms and equipment, and a place appointed to take their horses. I then asked Kosterlitzky which of his officers he wanted paroled. He gave me a list of 14, including three of his lieutenants whose names as I recall were: Jose de la Rosa, Rafael Contreras, and Jose Galas. Another part of my command, at another point, received the surrender of Lt. Col. Reyes. That night in my camp, Kosterlitzky presented me with his sabre and sombrero, not as trophies of war, but simply as gifts, I still have them.

During the next few weeks, and before I left Nogales to return to Huachuca, Kosterlitzky spent a lot of time with me. I learned to know him as a gentleman and a soldier, a fine man. He once told me of challenging Pancho Villa to personal combat, and I believe it. He said nothing however of any "running fight" with Villa where he "threw a pistol at him." He said Villa was "cold-footed," and I believe that too.

You state that Kosterlitzky once had Geronimo surrounded and at his mercy, but withdrew rather than interfere with U.S. troops also chasing the Apache. Our War Department documents list all of the Mexican units contacted by U.S. troops in this expedition into Mexico; Kosterlitzky's command is not mentioned in any of the reports. Also, Kosterlitzky told me much of his history while we were in Nogales; he never mentioned Geronimo.

That part of your story about Kosterlitzky talking with Harry Carr about a plan for the conquest of Mexico - I doubt very much. I always thought, and still do, that when Kosterlitzky left Mexico, it was for keeps.⁹

Graham Smith's observations were put down from memory many years after his experience in Nogales:

...My dad and his troop arrived in Nogales early in 1913 and I accompanied him there to attend school, as there was none in Fort Huachuca. I lived in camp with him. On the morning of March 13, 1913,

Obregon attacked Nogales, at dawn. The defending force was divided into two separate commands, one of cavalry or "rurales" under Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky, the other a detachment of infantry under Lt. Col. Manuel Reyes. I remember both as brave and kindly men.

My father had many contacts with both of them. Sometimes I would be present, and they always had a pleasant word for me. On one or two occasions they gave me small gifts.

The Battle of Nogales raged all day. It seemed to me that a boxcar load of ammunition was fired, and I heard many stray bullets whine over my head while observing the fight from behind an embankment with some of my schoolmates. I think one of Col. Reyes' captains by the name of Del Valle was killed that day. I also remember a bugler by the name of Sabino was killed.

A man in my father's troop named Umfleet was hit as he patrolled the boundary line. The bullet crashed through his neck, came up through his mouth and emerged from the tip of his nose. Miraculously, it did not kill him. He recovered completely and was restored to duty some time later. Later, back at Fort Huachuca, I saw Umfleet down by the G Troop stables, and asked to see the wound. "What wound," said the weary Umfleet, "I ain't got no wound - where do you see any scar?" Mortified before my teenage gang to whom I had done a lot of bragging about seeing Umfleet hit at Nogales, I could only slink away.

Toward evening the federal troops crossed the line and surrendered. From the sound of firing that day one would have supposed the casualties to run into the hundreds. As it was, only a handful were killed.¹⁰

As battles go, the Battle of Nogales did not amount to much. The federals had five men killed and five wounded. The rebels lost five men and had 17 wounded. These figures were listed as official by American Red Cross Volunteers. Casualty figures given by Kosterlitzky and Obregon are more spectacular. Wrote Kosterlitzky:

My forces had four men killed, five wounded and five taken prisoner. The enemy should have taken about 150 deaths....¹¹

Obregon reported:

I lost six dead and nine wounded. Our enemies lost a captain, a lieutenant, had 22 killed and 24 wounded. Those who crossed the line have been made prisoners by the Americans. We have their guns and ammunition.¹²

Not only was Obregon fudging in the casualty lists. The federal carried their arms over the line with them and surrendered them to Capt. Smith. It was not the first time opposing field commanders tried to make themselves look good in official reports.

Sadly for the federals, they might have been rescued by General Pedro Ojeda with troops over in Agua Prieta. They were not.

Ojeda had about 200 men in Agua Prieta and another 400 in Cananea. The tragedy for the federal forces was that he failed to employ them. On March 9th Kosterlitzky wired Ojeda warning of an 800 man rebel force marching north with Obregon from Hermosillo. "Yesterday they burned bridges east and west of Santa Cruz."¹³

Ojeda didn't believe it. "Pay no attention to hearsay. I am coming to Nogales with 3,000 men. If you are attacked before I arrive, defend yourself....Government troops are marching from Guaymas to Hermosillo, 4,000 strong."¹⁴

Ojeda was wrong on all counts. It was far more than "hearsay" that Obregon was gathering a large force in Hermosillo. Secondly, Ojeda never got anywhere near Nogales with a force of 3,000 to relieve Kosterlitzky, and, finally, although government forces did start out for Hermosillo from Guaymas, they were halted when Obregon burned the bridges between the two places.

Like the Roman General Cincinnatus, Ojeda delayed too long. When he finally decided to leave Agua Prieta for Nogales on March 11th, it was too late. In the night rebel forces had burned several more bridges on the Cananea road and cut all wires leading into Agua Prieta.

He decided not to fight, as bullets flying across the line into Douglas might bring U.S. forces into Mexico. As Ojeda left Agua Prieta, 650 insurgents under Plutarco Elias Calles came riding in from Yzabal on a freight train. Calles found about 30 of Ojeda's men left in town to "maintain order." Twenty-four of these men immediately went over to the rebels. The remaining six were run out of town.

Ojeda did have his battle, but too late and in the wrong place. Leaving Agua Prieta, he went to Naco, about 30 miles west and dug in. In a bloody siege which lasted for five days, he lost almost half of his men. The final battle was fought between Ojeda's federals and Obregon's Yaqui Indians who fought like tigers. Dead on both sides was estimated at about 200, with the fortifications and gun-pits becoming veritable slaughter pens. In and around the bullet-pocked buildings were federal corpses horribly mutilated.

Ojeda refused to surrender, and with his officers started for the American side. Fire from the Yaquis broke up any orderly retreat, and the demoralized officers scattered like rabbits. Captain H. A. Sievert, of A Troop, 9th Cavalry, ran to Ojeda's assistance and through a hail of enemy bullets led the general to safety. Captain Figueroa of the federal garrison remained behind with 15 men to cover the general's flight. One by one, he and his men were slaughtered by the shrieking Yaquis.

While it is possible that Kosterlitzky and Ojeda together might have defeated Obregon, the conjecture is academic. Certainly it would have been a very bloody affair. Besides the thousand men Obregon took to Nogales, he was thought to have another 4,000 stationed at various points throughout the state. Doubtless they would have been brought into play had Ojeda reinforced Kosterlitzky in Nogales.

Soldiers of Huachuca, patrolling the border from Agua Prieta to Nogales, wondered when they might be drawn into the fray. The answer came on March 9, 1915, in a surprising manner.

VILLA DEAD OR ALIVE!

In July 1914, Huerta resigned as President of Mexico, further complicating the mad scramble for accession to power by revolutionary elements. A month later Venustiano Carranza made a triumphal entry into the city of Mexico and assumed the office of Chief Executive. The United States gave de facto recognition to the Carranza government a little over a year later on October 15, 1915. This move incensed the revolutionary leader, Pancho Villa, who felt betrayed by the American government's action, and who became our implacable enemy from that day forward.

Ironically, our recognition of Carranza was based on the theory that of all the contenders for power, he was the most likely to keep the peace and maintain order. Actually, the reverse was true. From the outset Carranza's administration was plagued with troubles, with things sliding steadily downhill from the time he took office. By March 1915, business houses all over Mexico City were closing their doors, with the entire commercial traffic of the city paralyzed. This extraordinary situation was brought about as the result of a request by the army to levy a special tax on merchants so as to feed the poor in outlying districts. Shortage of food was in turn traceable to the army which was waging a deliberate campaign to starve peones as a means of forcing men and boys to enlist.

Predictably, money was relatively worthless and inflation rampant. Since the fall of the Diaz regime, the peso had dropped from 50 cents, to about 12 cents. It was not enough that American investors and other foreigners were on the verge of bankruptcy and collapse; in some places physical violence was employed against them. Thousands of foreign investors were faced not only with economic ruin but with survival.

It is interesting to note that our recognition of Carranza was the overriding reason for Villa's savage turn upon the American people. Until our selection of Carranza as Mexico's best hope and our assistance to him at Agua Prieta, Villa had been far more friendly to

us than Carranza. Even when receiving American aid, Carranza was disposed to be insolent and spiteful, losing few opportunities to shame and belittle American motives. Villa, at least until the Agua Prieta episode, seemed not unfriendly to the United States. In his memoirs General Hugh L. Scott, wrote:

The recognition of Carranza had the effect of solidifying the power of the man who rewarded us with kicks on every occasion, and of making an outlaw of the man who helped us. We permitted Carranza to send his troops through United States soil, by rail, to crush Villa....After Villa had given up millions of dollars at the request of the State Department, expressed through me. I have never been put in such a position in my life.¹

The last straw for Villa was the American role in dislodging him from Agua Prieta. Permission for Carranzista troops to move over U.S. territory by rail gave them the surprise element for victory at that place. Villa had already suffered a major setback by a Carranzista general. At Celaya, Guanajuato, in April 1915, Alvaro Obregon had defeated Villa overwhelmingly; and with the November 1915 rout at Agua Prieta at the hands of Plutarco Elias Calles, Villa had his fill of Carranza.

Interestingly, recognition of Carranza by President Woodrow Wilson was a contradiction of Wilson's Mexican Policy as outlined in his speeches from his Message to the Congress in August 1913. The constant theme of his policy was that he would offer recognition only to that government which should operate in conformity with the constitution of the country. Still, Wilson was not deterred from offering recognition while chaos reigned in Mexico. Worse, the frontier of the United States along the lower Rio Grande was thrown into turmoil because of sudden and violent incursions into American territory by Mexican bandits and Carranzista soldiers during the months of September and October 1915, the latter month the very time recognition was given.

These raiders not only looted, plundered and murdered, but occasionally carried American citizens back into Mexico after hit-and-run raids. Further, American garrisons were attacked, property looted and destroyed, and American soldiers killed. Such were the attacks made on Brownsville, Las Paladas, Red House Ferry, and Progreso in September 1915, a month before recognition.

In October a passenger train was wrecked by Mexicans a few miles north of Brownsville, followed by an attack made upon American troops in Brownsville a few days later. Since the sleeping Yanqui giant had not moved to punish these acts of vandalism, and since the Americans had been instrumental in his defeat at Agua Prieta, Pancho Villa decided to make some moves of his own. He burned to show his resentment against the United States and set about doing so by a series of deliberate incidents calculated to stir up and inflame.

On January 10, 1916, some Americans set out by train from Chihuahua City for the Cusi Mining Company, some miles away. The governor of Chihuahua had given official assurance that the Americans would not be molested in any way, and had even provided each individual with a safe-conduct pass through troubled country. Near the village of Santa Isabel, Villistas stopped the train and Pancho's soldados forced 18 Americans from it. These unfortunate travelers were shot, stripped naked, and mutilated.

Villa was not present at the outrage, but U.S. officials nonetheless cited him as responsible for the savage act. On January 14th Americans in El Paso began attacking the city's Mexican quarter in reprisal, and Gen. Pershing had to deploy troops in the area to avoid wholesale slaughter. Thus was the stage set for the famous raid upon Columbus, New Mexico.

On March 9th at about four o'clock in the morning, the residents of the sleepy little town of Columbus were wakened by gunfire and whooping yells of "Viva Mexico!" "Viva Villa!" Villa brought some 500 men to fire the town and shoot its inhabitants.² These were arranged in six columns of varying size under Generals Pablo Lopez, Juan Pedrosa, and Francisco Beltran; Colonels Nicolas Fernandez and Candelario Cervantes. Villa himself led a group of about 75.

On the 8th Villa had rested at Boca Grande and sent Colonel Cipriano Vargas and another officer to scout Columbus, especially the military garrison there. Vargas returned at midday on the 8th, relating that there were no more than 40 soldiers on the post. The intelligence mission had been simple; not once was Vargas challenged.

Private Fred Griffin was standing guard duty in post number three, Regimental Headquarters, 13th Cavalry. At a little past four a.m., he challenged a group of Mexicans and was cut down immediately by a burst of gunfire. Before he died, he killed three of his assailants. Villistas set fire to Sam Ravel's store and to the Commercial Hotel.

\$5,000⁰⁰ REWARD

DEAD OR ALIVE

WILL BE PAID

FOR THE CAPTURE OF



FRANCISCO (PANCHO) VILLA

**ALSO \$1,000. REWARD FOR ARREST OF
CANDELARIO CERVANTES, PABLO LOPEZ,
FRANCISCO BELTRAN, MARTIN LOPEZ**

**ANY INFORMATION LEADING TO HIS APPREHENSION WILL
BE REWARDED.**

**CHIEF OF POLICE
Columbus
New Mexico**

MARCH 9, 1916

AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

This was a tactical blunder, as it enabled U.S. troopers to pick out Villistas against the bright flames.

Confusion reigned. Most of the regiment's officers were away, and arms and ammunition had been locked within the guardhouse. Frantic soldiers had to knock down the doors to arm themselves. Unfortunately, the complicated Benet-Mercier machine guns jammed and proved virtually useless. Some historians have criticized the defensive posture of the Columbus garrison, claiming that nearly all of the officers were absent and attending a dance at Deming, and that several were drunk. Nonetheless, Villistas eventually were driven off and two troops of cavalry under the command of Major Frank Tompkins pursued them into Mexico. Tompkins caught up with Villa's men some miles below the border and inflicted heavy casualties upon them. Before returning to Columbus on the afternoon of March 9th, Tompkins' men killed about 75 Villistas and wounded many more. He lost not a single man. Tompkins received the Distinguished Service Medal for his action.

American losses at Columbus were 18 soldiers and civilians killed and eight wounded. In addition to the 75 casualties inflicted by Tompkins' men, the Villista force lost another 67 men in Columbus, with another seven taken prisoner.

Why did Pancho Villa raid Columbus? Certainly because of American assistance to Carranza and subsequent recognition of the Carranza regime, but there was another reason - loot. Essentially guerrillas are forces operating outside the law and take money and supplies wherever they can obtain them. Had Villa wanted to bring America into war with Mexico, he might have raided Fort Bliss. He needed arms and money, and as little opposition as might be expected in getting both. Columbus was a natural choice.

Villa concentrated on Sam Ravel's store and hotel, claiming that the Ravel brothers owed him some \$30,000 for guns and ammunition paid for but never delivered. Also, he hit the Columbus bank, the well stocked merchandising establishments, and the hotels, "relieving" guests of their valuables at gun-point. There were no cases of rape reported. No one was kidnapped or held for ransom. Plainly, the raid was inspired by hatred of gringos over fancied mistreatment and the need for booty. Still, it had immediate and serious repercussions.

At about noon on March 9th, the Army Chief of Staff, Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott, was informed of the raid by telegraph. The new Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, was being sworn into office as



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Brigadier General John J. Pershing at Colonia Dublan, Chihuahua, Mexico, July 15, 1916. National Archives photo UM 023897.

Scott received the electrifying news. Baker's first official act was to set things in motion for establishing a Punitive Expedition into Mexico. Conferences between Baker and President Wilson culminated in an executive order to the army to go after Villa in hot chase. The armed force would, according to Baker's note to Major General Frederick Funston, commanding the Southern Department, "operate with the sole object of capturing Villa and preventing further raids by his band."³ In a subsequent note to Funston, Baker wrote:

You will promptly organize an adequate military force of troops, under the command of Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing, and will direct him to proceed promptly across the border in pursuit of the Mexican band which attacked the town of Columbus, N.M. on the morning of the 9th inst....⁴

Care was taken to ascertain that Pershing's command would be large enough to do the job but not so large as to lay the U.S. open to charges of intervention by the Mexican government. The planners needn't have bothered. So intense was Carranza's enmity and jealousy that the charge was made anyway.

By March 14th Pershing was in Columbus making plans to organize the Punitive Expedition. One of his first acts was to name Colonel DeRosey C. Cabell, 10th Cavalry, as his Chief of Staff. Then a provisional division of two cavalry brigades and one infantry brigade was drawn up. Six regiments would enter Mexico, organized as follows: 1st Cavalry Brigade (Provisional): 11th Cavalry, 13th Cavalry, and Battery C, 6th Field Artillery, attached. 2d Cavalry Brigade (Provisional): 7th Cavalry, 10th Cavalry, Battery B, 6th Field Artillery, attached. 1st Infantry Brigade (Provisional): 6th Infantry, 16 Infantry, Companies E and H, 2d Engineer Battalion, attached.

In addition to those units listed above, these units were attached to Division Headquarters: 1st Aero Squadron and I Company, Signal Corps; 1st and 2d Wagon Companies, QM Corps; Field Hospital Company number 7, Medical Corps and Ambulance Company number 7.

Before it was over, the Punitive Expedition took other units into its ranks: 5th, 6th and 12th Cavalry Regiments; Batteries A, B and C, 4th Field Artillery; G Company, 2d Engineer Battalion; 17th, 20th and 24th Infantry Regiments, a cantonment hospital, and several truck train companies. Stationed on the border, ready to move on call, were the 1st New Mexico Infantry and the 2d Massachusetts Infantry, both national guard outfits; neither entered Mexico.

Although the Punitive Expedition involved all of the organizations listed above, except the national guard regiments, there is no need to offer an exhaustive account of the affair here. It is a well covered and thoroughly documented piece of history. This account will deal almost exclusively with the units stationed at Fort Huachuca at the time of Villa's raid on Columbus.

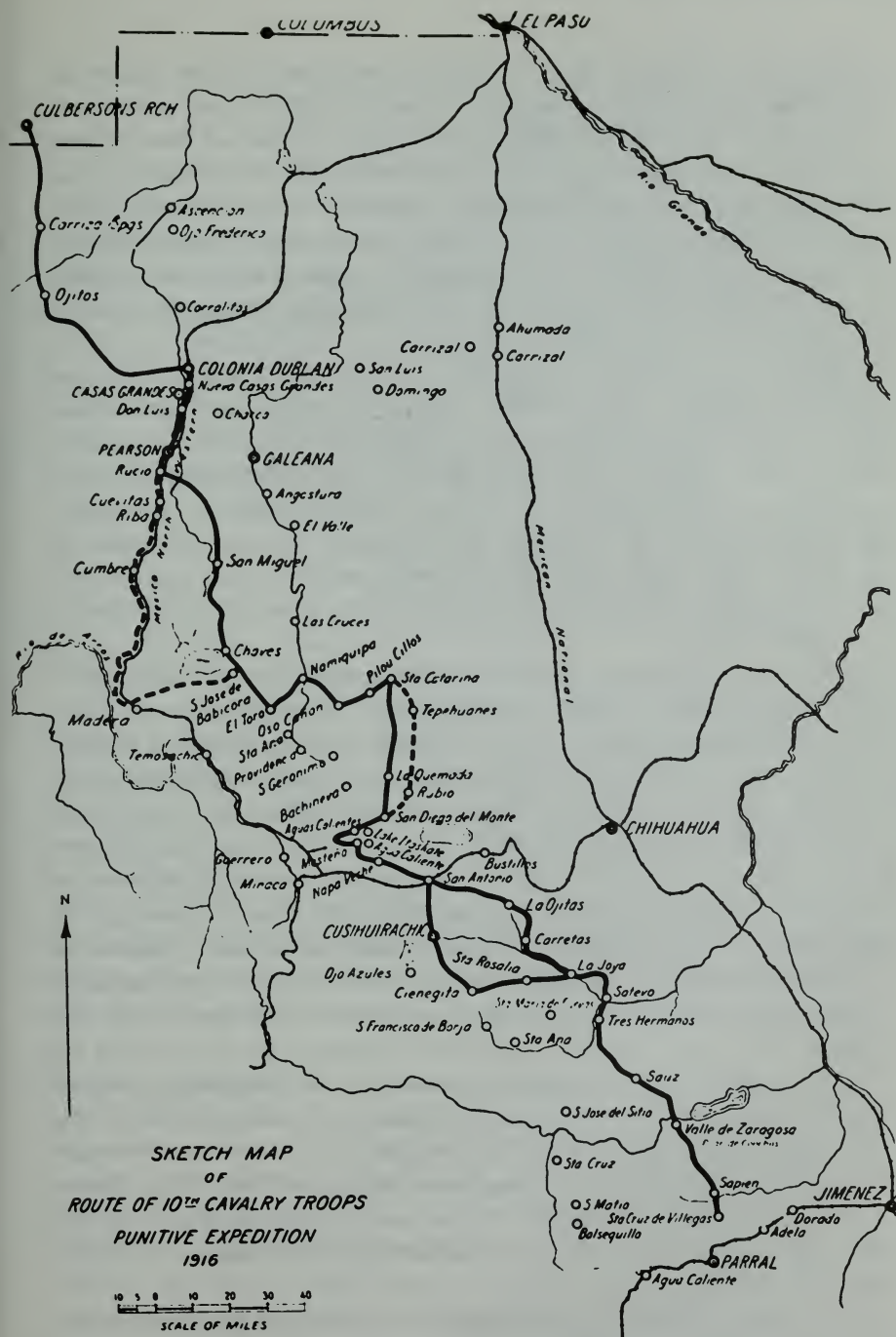
Fort Huachuca's soldiers first learned of the Columbus raid at about 11:30 a.m. on the ninth when the regimental adjutant, Captain Samuel MacPhersen Rutherford, took a phone call from the local telegraph operator. He relayed the news to the Regimental and Post Commander, Colonel W. C. Brown. Said Brown: "Get that word to the troop commanders at once and tell them to hold their troops in readiness for orders."⁵ Orders came within half an hour from the cavalry brigade headquarters in Douglas, directing that the command proceed to Douglas at once, ready for service in the field.

By four p.m. the 10th Cavalry, less Troops L, M and the band, departed from Huachuca, two supply wagons per troop and a regimental pack train. The band played the column off, to the tearful goodbyes of loved ones and to the chagrin of those troopers left behind. It was reminiscent of a similar leave-taking of 30 years earlier, when the bold troopers of B Troop, 4th Cavalry, had marched away to pursue Geronimo.

These latter-day "Buffalo Soldiers" had their own war cry: "Villa, dead or alive!" As it turned out, he was neither killed nor captured, but, considering the restrictions which the national government placed upon the expedition, it is not surprising. Most military historians will agree that, given free rein, Pershing would have defeated Villa easily.

Culberson's Ranch, tucked away in the southwestern corner of New Mexico, was designated as the rendezvous point for the 2d Cavalry Brigade, and so the 10th headed for it. The regiment made its first stop at Hereford on the evening of the ninth and, going by way of Douglas, Forest, the Slaughter and Hood Ranches, arrived at Culberson's Ranch on the 13th. Troops D and G were picked up along the route of march.

The 14th and 15th were spent in tailoring expedition equipment to the requirements of the march. Villistas could (and did) travel fast and light. The 10th could not afford to do less, and it had started out with a veritable mountain of gear. "Naturally every troop quartermaster almost wept when he saw his wagons remorselessly lightened at Culberson's Ranch."⁶ Many of the squadron's supply



Route of 10th Cavalry troops into Mexico, 1916.

wagons were ditched there early in the game. By the time the expedition had come as far south as Colonia Dublan, a fair portion of its men and horses were ailing and had to be detached for rest and hospitalization. These sick were sent back with a pack train, and from that point forward the only "personnel" changes occurred with the occasional purchase of a pack animal from some Mexican rancher. Such purchases were generally made with private funds. Some officers were a very long time indeed in getting restitution from the U.S. Government.

On the 16th the column crossed into Mexico and began a long and largely futile chase after Villista troops. A number of writers have scoffed at Pershing for failing to apprehend Villa, but, faced with intransigence and even open hostility by the Mexican government, he could scarcely have done more than he did. When U. S. troops crossed the border, a milestone was reached. The last campaign of the U.S. Cavalry had begun. The branch would become mechanized for employment in future wars. It was not the same thing, nor would it be again, ever.

Carranza's reaction to our request for permission to pursue Villa into Mexico was typically cunning. In his reply to our State Department through special agent Silliman, he led off with a lengthy reminder that the raid was not unlike the Apache raids made into Sonora from U.S. reservations in the 80's. He ended the communication with the remark that "the forces of the United States may cross into Mexican territory if the raid effected at Columbus should be repeated at any other point on the border." In other words, the raid itself was not deemed of sufficient gravity to warrant intervention or punishment. Only a repeat performance would insure the American right to chase the villains across the border.

The American government was not to be so deftly put off however, and, in a return note to Carranza, Lansing affirmed the reciprocal right to pursue fleeing bandits; that is to say, Mexicans were given the privilege of chasing lawbreakers into the United States, and the secretary "assumed" that the reciprocal privilege, worked both ways and that no further interchange of views on the subject was necessary.

In sending the troops to Mexico, the Secretary of War issued strict orders prohibiting the use of Mexican railroads or telegraph lines, except upon permission of the Mexican government. Carranza was able to forget, rather conveniently, that it was the use of an

American railroad which had enabled him to unseat Villa in the first place. American troops did use Mexican rail lines, but infrequently, usually with much palaver and haranging, and never when their employment might have been a decisive factor in battle.

Colonia Dublan, a Chihuahua town lying some 80 miles southeast of Culberson's Ranch, was reached on the evening of March 17th, and here the 10th Cavalry rested in camp on the banks of Rio Casas Grandes. Dog-tired and cold, troopers could not light fires for fear of starting a conflagration. Grass around the river bank was three to four feet high and tinder-dry. The remainder of grain carried on saddles was consumed by horses at this camp, and a three-day issue of bacon was turned over to troopers of the 7th Cavalry, moving south towards Galena under Colonel George F. Dodd.

By now the 10th was formed into two squadrons, the first operating under the command of Major Ellwood W. Evans with eight officers and about 200 enlisted men, and the second, commanded by Col. William C. Brown, consisting of four rifle troops, a machine gun group, 14 officers and some 250 men.

Brown and Evans were ordered to entrain at Dublan on the 19th, and rode together as far as El Rucio, a sleepy little village on the Mexican Northwestern Railroad. From there they would part company, Brown taking his 2d Squadron on to Cuevitas and San Miguel, Evans proceeding to Las Varas near Madera. Troops I and K were left behind at Dublan, along with men and horses unfit to make the next stage of the expedition.

When the train arrived at the Embarcadero near Colonia Dublan, it was found to be almost unserviceable, consisting of 25 box cars and cattle cars, and three flat cars of ancient vintage. It was a rickety nuts and bolts affair, and a wood burner. It was constantly in need of fuel and water, and the troopers, who had envisioned a plush ride, found themselves chopping mesquite every few miles. The mounts had to be loaded into the boxcars, and, as there was no provision for ventilation, holes were chopped in the plankings, thus making an already splintered train uglier still. Some floors had been burned through by Villa raiding parties, and in the parlor car seats and windows were a shattered shambles.

Some men had to ride on top of the cars, and from a distance the train probably looked like one commandeered by revolutionists for a troop haul. The accompanying photo graphically depicts the rag-tag character of such rail transportation at that time and place. The miserable ride to El Rucio was complicated by the fact that neither



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Carranzista troops near San Antonio, Chihuahua, Mexico, April 27, 1916. Note makeshift tent on top of boxcar. Habitually, Mexican soldiers carried their families with them whenever possible. National Archives photo UM 199913.

the engineer nor the conductor spoke English, so that all requests for axes, saws, hammers and other tools to "renovate" the train for troop use had to be acted in pantomime.

Badly overloaded, the train went chugging along at a snail's pace. A few miles from El Rucio, a steep grade proved too much for it, and the whole groaning string of cars ground to a shuddering stop. The forward half of the train was detached and towed on into El Rucio. A little later, the engine came back for the other cars. El Rucio was destined to be the terminus for the 10th Cavalry troop movement. The Mexican authorities, possibly fearful of further breakdown, or perhaps afraid for political reasons, put the troops off and that was that.

At this isolated little station, the men had the last of their government rations. From then on, until they returned to the states, they were on their own. Hard luck hit the column at once. A pack mule wandered off and precious hours were lost in tracking him down. Then word came that some of Villa's troops were holed up in San Miguel and would need flushing out. The command surrounded the approaches to the town and took up firing positions. The bandits had fled however, and more precious time was taken in regrouping for pursuit.

A couple of days later, Col. Brown met with Col. Cano of Carranza's federal forces, and the two agreed to attack Villa at his bivouac in Oso Canyon. Cano's enthusiasm for the project was only lukewarm however, and Brown felt from the first that the alliance was a poor one. To further delay things, a stiff wind blew up, freezing canteens solid, and covering mountain streams with sheets of ice. Searching parties were detained for a whole day, and Villa's men got away.

Cano had promised to scout the surrounding country thoroughly, but when pressed for reports he came evasive and surly.

On the 28th Brown caught up with Lieutenant Valintin Avitia at Quemada. "Almost caught up" is perhaps the better term. Avitia escaped but left behind valuable stores and a number of good horses.

Villa was his usual elusive self, hopping from place to place, being seen here, there, everywhere, but never apprehended. First he would be in Rubio, then San Diego del Monte, then Aguas Calientes or Bachineva. Although Carranza's troops would do nothing to aid in his capture, they were always on the lookout for him themselves. It was near the little town of Guerrero that one of Carranza's men put a rifle bullet in his leg.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

10th Cavalry machine-gunners in action, Punitive expedition, Mexico, 1916. National Archives photo UM 20460.

The wound laid him up for almost two months, and part of this time he took refuge in a mountain cave where he was attended by several loyal followers. During this time he watched American troops ride by in the distance on several occasions.

One of the worst factors surrounding the operation of punitive troops was the lack of money. Some of the officers and men had a few dollars, but there was not enough hard cash in total sum to do much good. The squadron paymaster obtained some supplies on credit, issuing signed receipts for goods purchased. At first the scheme worked relatively well, but as the column went further south it ran into poorer sections where suspicious merchants were reluctant to trade their wares for mere promises to pay. Unfortunately, this got to be something of a racket later on too, and the quartermaster was deluged with fake receipts by sharp characters on the lookout for an easy dollar. This in turn brought about a slow pay policy, and in some cases poor men who had given all they had were left holding the bag. Even now, there are perhaps little yellowed slips of paper tucked away in bibles or chests of drawers promising payment in gold to the bearer on demand.

A plaintive statement by a merchant of the little village of Cusiuhiriachic gives adequate description of the storekeeper's plight:

You Americans pay for food all right, but you give receipts only. You buy a cow from a man who lives 100 miles from any railroad. Even if the railroad were operating it would take six months before he gets his mail. You kill his cow and give him a receipt. He mails the receipt to the quartermaster at San Antonio, Texas. It takes six months to get there, if it gets there at all. When the quartermaster gets it he cannot pay for it. He returns duplicate vouchers to be signed. They take another six months to reach the man, who can neither read nor write English. If he can do all these things, and signs in the proper place, 18 months later he gets a check he cannot cash! ⁷

Colonel Brown found himself in something of a quandary. Should he resort to pillage and thereby alienate blameless people, or should he put his requirements second to the need for friendly relations? He worked out a compromise, not entirely satisfactory to anyone, least of all himself. He gave storekeepers his personal checks, and was very soon committed to almost 1,700 dollars in expenses. Some of the nationals he traded with balked at the arrangement. They had never heard of a bank, seen a check, and could not read even their own

names. Personal expenditures for the common good were necessary, but it was a long time before the government made them good. In some cases, it never did.

From El Rucio on, the squadron had not a single mouthful of government rations nor a penny of government money to buy provisions with, and its animals had not a single bag-full of government forage. Like locusts, the horses and men fell upon food whenever they could find it, and there were days when there was no food or fodder at all.

On the march between Huachuca and Santa Cruz de Villegas, the squadron covered 750 miles in 28 days, for an average of 27 miles daily. This was over extremely rugged terrain and waterless country, making operations exceedingly difficult.

Food along the route of march was monotonous and unappetizing. Beef and beans were staples and could be obtained in most villages. Flour and corn meal were hard to get though, and the column resorted to the practice of grinding corn kernels in hand mills.

The hand mills, made by the people of the countryside, were crude affairs however, and the corn meal was coarse and knotty in texture. The lumpy mess was mixed with water and fried into cakes, thick, mealy and undigestible. Naturally, many of the men came down with severe diarrheal cramps.

Lard and salt were obtained infrequently. Sometimes the little stores had chunks of rock salt, the grey substance used as licks by animals on western ranches. Coffee was seldom found, and sugar was practically nonexistent. Once in a while though, the column would find a stock of panoche, and the men would take the whole lot of it, and go away sucking blissfully on the tasty little brown cones.

Eggs were available, but were generally the dinky little eggs of banty hens, and they were so cheap that the farmers could rarely give the proper change in any transaction.

After the meat had been cut away from meat bones, the latter were collected in a can and carried on into the next camp. They would be placed over a fire to boil throughout the night, and in the morning the mess sergeant would spike the insipid stew with a few cups of soupy corn meal. Stirred mightily, the broth was served all around and, after awhile, came to be regarded as not entirely unpalatable.

As a troop rated the cooking kettle only three out of each five days, even this thin gruel was not a daily item of diet. This untenable

situation was later eased with the purchase of old kerosene cans for use as kettles. Although boiled, steamed, scrubbed and scoured, the cans retained a little of the oily residue of past contents, and the improvement of having beef broth every morning was questioned by some.

More digestive troubles came with the inability to cook frijoles long enough. When the troops were passing through high country, bean baking took considerably longer than it did at lower altitudes. But they were chasing a highly mobile enemy and could not spare the time for proper fixing of foods. Accordingly, beans were only half-baked when flopped into the outstretched mess kits.

In appearance, the column took on a real rag-tag look. As clothing wore out, replacements were made with odd bits of canvas, leather and cloth. Leather was stripped from stirrups and saddles for use as shoe soles, and canvas tents were butchered for pants-patching. Saddle bag linings were converted into hats of varying size and design, and, as pieces of uniforms were torn beyond redemption, incongruous replacements were obtained in Mexican stores; cotton breeches, serapes, and even a few straw sombreros.

For the horses, fodder was not always obtainable, and, in places where it could be bought, there wasn't much of it. Grazing areas were scarce too, and most of the time the horses were nuzzling through rocks and cactus for a few spears of good sweet grass. As there were no oats, the mounts were fed wheat when it could be found. While palatable, it caused bloat, but this was not serious enough to cause colic.

Water was a problem. Water holes were few and far between, and even these, for the most part, were alkaline. The thirsty, sweated horses would drink the brackish stuff only in desperation. Whenever it was possible, the horses would be led into shallow streams or tanks to cool off.

Horseshoes wore out quickly on the rocky trails. After a couple of weeks, an order was issued to turn in all spare horseshoes to a common pile for use on a priority basis. The order was met with varying degrees of exactitude. Most groups turned in all spares, but one outfit, mindful of the many rocky miles ahead, turned in one shoe.

Each troop carried its farrier along, and these men were constantly busy tightening shoes, replacing nails and reshoeing. They carried no forging equipment along however, and had to depend upon the little blacksmith shacks found at ranches along the march.

Most of the foregoing description of movement and conditions pertains to the 2d Cavalry Squadron under Col. Brown, although the trials and tribulations of operating in Mexico were similar for all units involved in pursuing Villa. Some attention should be given to Maj. Evans and his 1st Squadron.

After Brown left the comic opera train at Rucio, Evans remained on board and continued south toward his destination at Las Varas. Early in the morning of March 21st, near Musica on the Cumbre switchback, two cars of the ill-fated train overturned, spewing out men, horses and equipment down the side of a steep embankment. No one was killed, but nine men of Troops A and B were injured, as were one signal corps and one hospital sergeant. The injured troopers were put into the train's caboose and attended to by Sergeant Doudy, badly bruised himself in the tumble over the precipice.

On the following morning Evans detrained at Musica and marched to Las Varas, arriving there at about 5 p.m. At Las Varas, Evans met with Colonel Maximiliano Marquex, one of Carranza's officers, who informed him that Villa was in Namiquipa. Evans wired this information to Gen. Pershing who answered at once, ordering him to go on to San Jose de Babicora.

At about 6:30 p.m. on the 23rd, Evans left Las Varas with Troops A, B, C and D for a night march to Babicora, arriving there just after midnight after a seven hour march. In the morning Evans received a message from Brown, sent from Namiquipa, urging Evans to join him there posthaste. Departing Babicora a little before noon, Evans joined up with Brown near El Toro at around 2 p.m.

On the following day the two squadrons broke camp and marched for three hours to a place where the column halted while Brown conferred with Col. Cano of the Mexican Federal Army. After the conference, march was resumed and camp was made at El Oso in mid-afternoon. On the 26th Brown and Evans met with Cano again to figure out a way to intercept Villa. There were two possibilities: Villa had either gone east in the direction of Santa Catalina Ranch, or south toward San Geronimo and San Antonio, but probably not as far as Cusiuhirachic. Cano promised to scout the two passes leading to these places from El Oso. He lied.

On the 27th the two cavalry squadrons started out for Santa Catalina around 10 a.m. Cano marched ahead of them and quit the chase around noon. Brown and Evans continued on, camping a few miles out of Santa Catalina late in the afternoon, planning to make a surprise attack in the morning. There was no surprise. A roaring grass

fire routed the weary marchers out of their bedrolls some time after midnight and so diverted their line of march. Santa Catalina was not reached until nightfall of the 28th.

Failing to locate Villa, the squadron commanders parted at Santa Catalina, Brown heading for La Quemada and Evans going on to Tepehuanes. They were not separated for long though. In Tepehuanes, Evans found a telephone exchange linking up the Zuraga ranches in the valley and was able to talk with Col. Brown, now at La Quemada. Brown ordered Evans to join him at Rubio on the 29th.

Evans left Tepehuanes at about 7 a.m. and followed the telephone line to Saucito, arriving shortly after noon. The ranch foreman there was evasive about questions concerning Villa, claiming that he just returned from Chihuahua City and knew nothing about Villa's whereabouts. Evans went on then to Rubio, where he rejoined Col. Brown. On the 30th Evans went over to Ojo Caliente, where he learned that Villa had been seen somewhere in the vicinity of San Diego del Monte. Pressing on, Evans arrived at San Diego del Monte about noon, only to learn that Villa had departed in the direction of Guerrero and reportedly had a firefight near there with Carranzistas, but had gone on, no one knew where. On the 31st the worn-out squadrons rested at San Diego, wondering what to do next.

Unable to contact Pershing, Brown decided to move on Guerrero. The first hours of his march were buffeted by a blinding snow storm, men and horses suffered not only from the snow but from the piercing wind which seemed to cut right to the bone. Near Aguas Calientes, Brown's men jumped some 150 Villistas, and E Troop, commanded by Captain Selwyn D. Smith, exchanged shots with them. The enemy began a quick retreat and was followed by Major Charles Young with Troops F (Captain William S. Valentine) and H (Captain Orlando C. Troxel). Young's force killed several Mexicans and captured some equipment. The machine gun troop (Captain Albert E. Phillips) and G Troop (Captain George B. Rodney) pursued elements of the Villista force but could not make contact.

During this fracas some Mexicans were crouching behind a stone wall, delivering dangerous fire upon the troopers. Unable to dislodge them with frontal rifle fire, Col. Brown ordered Maj. Young to hit the snipers from the flank. Young wasted no time. He ordered Troops F and H to mount up and charge, and they did, with pistols raised. Oddly, not a shot was fired. At the charge signal several of the troopers let out blood-curdling howls, so unnerving the Mexicans



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Capt. A. E. Phillips (white horse) leading 10th Cavalry machine-gun troop on march near San Antonio, Chihuahua, Mexico, 1916. The regiment was commanded by Col. W. C. Brown. National Archives photo UM 200082.

that they quit their fortified position and took cover in some woods to the rear.

On April 2nd Brown marched to Napavechic, trailing Villistas all the way. People there were openly hostile and reluctant to sell supplies for receipts only. Enough money was scraped up to purchase some fodder for the jaded horses. The poverty-stricken character of the entire operation was ludicrous and alarming. Maj. Charles Young was forced to deposit his watch and ring as security for return of a messenger he sent to Col. Brown early in April.

At San Antonio, Brown was unable to send a telegram without money and actually sold his pocketknife to a soldier for 50 cents to send a brief wire.

On April 3rd Brown wired Gen. Pershing from San Antonio asking that he be permitted to send telegrams to headquarters collect. Two days later Pershing answered through Major J. A. Ryan, acting Chief of Staff, promising to send money to relieve Brown's procurement problems. By then he was out \$1,700 and truly wondering if there might be an end to the drain on his personal funds.

Worse, while the army hierarchy in Washington was weighing the pros and cons of supplying money for soldiers to buy the necessities, it haggled with field commands for failure to observe established logistical procedures. Lieutenant Reynold F. Migdalski was called upon to explain why he had not offered for sale the hides of slaughtered animals and why he had purchased so much cheese at Santa Cruz de Villegas for issue to the troop. Had he been flippant enough to give honest answers, he would have been censured, endangering his career. Obviously, the facts that the cattle were butchered 100 miles away from any settlement and that the men were simply hungry, for cheese or just about anything else edible, would not suffice as "reasons" for the prim, humorless guardians of the army purse-strings on the Potomac.

Truly concerned over the issue of funding, Col. Brown wrote to Gen. Pershing from Parral:

The greatest care has been taken to do no injustice to natives of this country. The chief difficulty has been to do this and still secure the necessary supplies from a country which has been raided in turn by Villistas and Carranzistas. To maintain my command on this expedition I have already advanced the government over \$1,453 of personal funds. Other officers have advanced hundreds of dollars. How and when we will

be reimbursed is problematical.

One thing is certain, and that is that to sieze supplies, whether the owner is willing or not, will sooner or later result in hostilities....⁸

Hostilities did indeed ensue, but not over the issue of commandeered goods. Although forced into privation by shortsighted governmental policy, participants in the Punitive Expedition never resorted to force or illegality.

On April 4th Brown was ordered to send his disabled men and horses back for supplies. Six pack mules were returned, and these weary beasts constituted the 10th Cavalry Regiment's only means of transporting gear from San Antonio south. On the same day Gen. Cavazos let Brown know that further advance southward by U.S. troops chasing Villa would be considered by the Mexican government as an unfriendly act. Brown went to Cusihiuriachic to talk with the Mexican commander, Castanada, about it and to arrange for 2nd Squadron troops to continue on southward.

Brown had a satisfactory meeting with Castanada and met the manager of the Cusi Mining Company, who not only sold him supplies of bread, sugar, flour, coffee and some vegetables, but even took the colonel's personal check.

On April 6th Brown went into Cusihiuriachic from his camp early in the morning on some unfinished business. On the way back to camp, he watched as an airplane landed about a mile away. He hurried to the landing place where he found Lieutenant Ira Roder standing by the machine. The pilot, and senior officer, Lieutenant Herbert A. Dargue, had gone into town looking for Brown. When the two got together, some hours later, Dargue had interesting news for Brown.

...From information received it is believed that Villa is going to Parral...The commanding general directs that in order to cut Villa off you proceed from Cusi to Parral via Bavans Nava, Satevo, Velle de Zaragoza, and Sapien. You are reminded that Col. Cano has moved in that direction and from him guides may be procured who will of great assistance....You are authorized to purchase all kinds of supplies that you may need. Money will be furnished you from here and an effort will be made to send you money through the American Consul at Chihuahua.⁹

En route to Parral via the route prescribed by Pershing, Brown passed through Satevo on April 9th. By now Brown had some Mexican silver pesos to use and so confronted the village chief with the sparkling coins and asked to buy some corn and fodder. "Why," said the astonished headman, "it is like seeing Christ come down from heaven to see you pay for what you want!"¹⁰ Miraculously the poverty-stricken village, seemingly bereft of goods of any description, was soon showing hidden stores of corn, coffee, flour, chili peppers, eggs and chickens, and other sorely needed items.

One could only sympathize with the poor Mexican farmer so reluctant to part with his few earthly possessions. From the outset of the revolution, both federal and insurgent troops had swept across the land, plundering, stealing, looting and "appropriating" goods by force of arms. Why then, should the peones trust the American soldiers any more than those of Carranza, Villa, Obregon, or any of the other Mexican military chieftains riding roughshod over the land? Equally important, why should the Campesino not be impressed with that commander who paid for his goods in silver and gold?

Predictably, Brown found that, when treated fairly and with respect, the Mexican peon responded with dignity and proper measure. As the soldiers of Brown's 2nd Squadron left town, they were bid farewell by a delegation of from 25 to 30 grateful merchants. The act was remarkable, given the fact that the town had Villista supporters in it.

Continuing south, Brown halted about a mile out of Tres Hermanos when one of his right flankers signaled the approach of Mexican troops. The alert flanker-man had seen General Garza riding north with about 200 men. Garza impressed Brown as a straightforward and honorable individual, and, at Brown's request Garza detached Capt. G. F. Trevino to serve as guide and liason officer with the American force. Trevino remained with Brown for the next month, rendering valuable service as a guide and interpreter.

On April 13th Brown's command was resting at Media Ranch near Sapien when several troopers of the 13th Cavalry passed by, reporting that Maj. Tompkins' command had been attacked by Carranzista forces at Parral. Brown had his bugler sound "Boots and Saddles" immediately, and within minutes the squadron was on the way to join Tompkins. As soon as Brown learned the particulars of the astonishing turn of events, he wired the U.S. Consul at Chihuahua, requesting that official to relay the message to Gen. Pershing.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Major Charles Young, 10th U.S. Cavalry, Chihuahua, Mexico, 1916. Major Young was post commander at Fort Huachuca on three separate brief occasions: 5 - 9 August, 1916; 15 - 18 September, 1916; May 24 - June 2, 1917. National Archives photo UM 204046.

In the attack Maj. Frank Tompkins and Lt. Ord were wounded along with four troopers; two troopers were killed: Sergeant Richley and Private Hobart Ledford. Major Charles Young and some soldiers of the 10th Cavalry found Ledford's body where it had fallen, stripped of shoes and clothing, and looted of valuables.

Touchingly, it was guarded by a small white dog, which had served the 13th Cavalry as a mascot, and had been especially befriended by Ledford. The animal was adopted by M Company, 13th Cavalry, as its official mascot.

In Parral, Col. Brown, Maj. Tompkins and other officers of the two regiments met with the Alcalde, Jose de la Luz Herrera. Brown had asked for General Lozano to be present, but he did not show up at the meeting.

Evasively, Herrera blamed the trouble on the civilian population of Parral, stating that the military forces had been unable to keep them in check. He was unable to explain, however, why most of the shooting had been done by Mexican soldiers, or why soldiers had pursued the American unit when civilians quit the fight.

Angry and indignant, Brown tongue-lashed the Mexicans for duplicity, raised the stars and stripes over the Santa Cruz de Villegas, and announced that there would be no withdrawal of American forces until or unless the U.S. government should order it. Brown also demanded that the body of Sgt. Richley be placed in a coffin and delivered to the American camp at Santa Cruz de Villegas. The Alcalde of Parral complied. Lieutenant Clarence Lininger delivered a brief but touching eulogy, ending with these words: "Let us with humble and contrite spirit consign to its temporary abiding place all that is mortal of our comrade in arms, Sgt. Richley."¹¹

On April 14th Captain William O. Reed and Lieutenant James L. Collins of Gen. Pershing's staff arrived at Brown's camp and went into immediate huddle with him on the current situation. Brown expressed the thought that Pershing should move south to Santa Cruz de Villegas, since the attack by Carranzista troops at Parral had changed the entire character of the campaign. The idea of establishing a subsidiary camp on the rail line was discussed, and a site was selected. It was academic, however, as none of the officers knew of the new Mexican governmental policy of prohibiting use of rail transportation of American Forces.

The American expeditionary army at Santa Cruz de Villegas now consisted of 34 officers, over 600 enlisted men, and about 850 horses and mules. This meant a daily ration of some six tons of hay and

about 9,000 pounds of grain for the animals, and about one ton of food for the men. A new and closer supply base was indispensable. Col. Brown sent a note to Alcalde Herrera indicating his need for a new base and asked that Herrera put in a telegraph office at Adela to facilitate expeditionary communications problems.

Herrera answered, saying that the Military Governor of Chihuahua had forbidden any movement by U.S. troops unless granted permission by the Mexican Secretary of War.

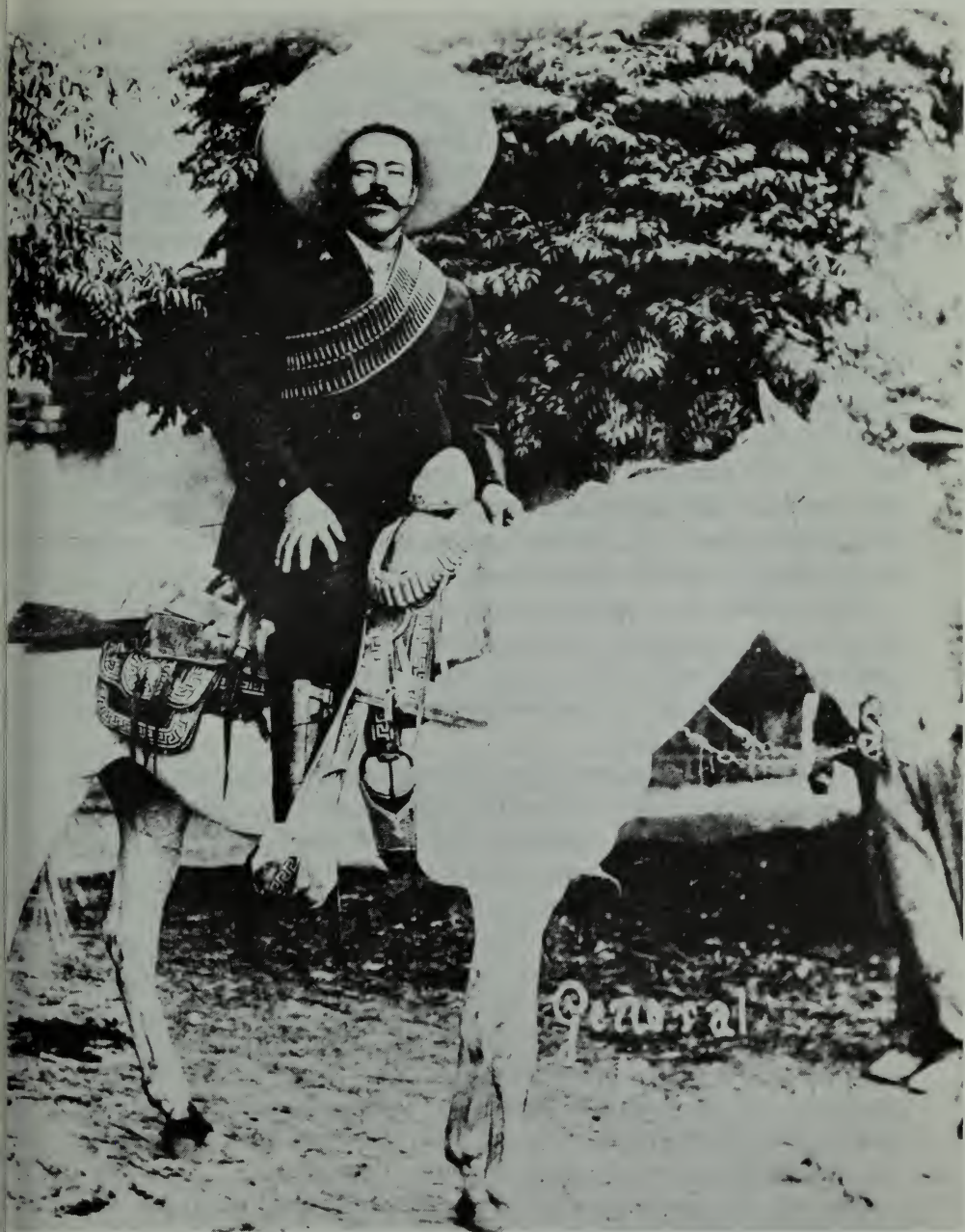
Parral turned out to be the southern extremity of the expedition's march. Relations between the two countries had been deteriorating rapidly, and, with the firing upon Tompkins' command by Carranzista at Parral, a critical point was reached. Far from worrying about Villa or his whereabouts, the Carranza Government now issued orders to its field commanders to fire upon American troops moving in any direction other than north. The note received by Pershing to this effect was unmistakably clear. Trevino, the Mexican general in charge of the Department of Chihuahua stated in part:

I have orders from my government...to prevent the American forces that are in this state from moving to the south, east or west of the places they now occupy. I communicate this to you for your knowledge for the reason that your forces will be attacked by Mexican forces if these indications are not heeded.¹²

Pershing informed Trevino that he took orders only from his own government, and that he would use his own judgement "as to when, and in what direction, I shall move my forces in pursuit of bandits, or in seeking information regarding bandits."

Accordingly, he sent out reconnaissance parties to gain information on Villa's whereabouts, but with strict orders to leave federal troops alone. Captain Charles T. Boyd of the 10th U.S. Cavalry headed such a party and was able to get some timely information from the American foreman of the Santo Domingo Ranch, east of Colonia Dublan. He was informed that he might find some Villistas at Ahumada and so set his course for that place by way of Carrizal.

Arriving at the outskirts of Carrizal, he was met by a Mexican general and his staff who warned him that further movement to the east would be challenged by force of arms. Probably he should have ordered a tactical withdrawal, but he had his orders and could ill



Pancho Villa.

afford to pull back in meek compliance. As he began to dismount, a volley of Mexican fire cut him down, and the fight was on.

The Carranzistas won the fight, killing two officers and 10 enlisted men of the American column, wounding a dozen or so, and capturing 23.¹³ Had they pressed their advantage, they might have annihilated both troops of the column, C and K. As it was, most of the men got away after a stiff firefight and were picked up by expeditionary patrols several days later. The Mexicans had 12 officers killed, including General Gomez. Also, 3 enlisted men were killed and 53 wounded. American officers killed were Capt. Charles T. Boyd and Lieutenant Henry Rodney Adair.

After this fight the U.S. State Department issued a peremptory note to the Mexican government demanding the release of U.S. prisoners and all government property taken in the fight. As a considerable force of national guard troops were poised on the border ready to march, the Mexicans agreed to come to terms.

There followed an exchange of notes setting up a conference to discuss the evacuation of American troops from Mexico. This conference was held at New London, Connecticut on September 16, 1916, and thereafter numerous sessions were held extending over into the following year.

Pershing established himself at Colonia Dublan and began training exercises to occupy the time as the talks dragged on. This period of encampment was barely tolerable. High winds swept the dusty plains continually, and winter rains turned the place into a sea of mud. Worse than this however, was the frustration caused by waiting and political indecision. The expedition had been made to look bad by forces supposedly friendly to it, and unnecessary restrictions on the use of railroads had permitted the quarry to elude all pursuit.

Pershing, prior to the Carrizal affair, had tried repeatedly to mount a telling offensive against Villa. All of his schemes called for the free use of Mexican railroads. These efforts were always hampered by Carranzista animosity, and, of course, after Carrizal any such advantages were entirely impossible.

One of the last communications Pershing got from the War Department before Carrizal read:

The President desires that your attention be especially and earnestly called to his determination that the expedition in Mexico is limited to the purposes originally stated, namely the pursuit and dispersion of the band or bands that attacked Columbus, N.M.¹⁴

So throttled, he could do little but chase the elusive will-o-the-wisp whenever some two-or-three-day-old report might come in on his whereabouts. Villa used the Mexican railroads, admittedly by force and capture, but in so doing could frequently put miles between his forces and those of his pursuers. Moreover, even in close chase, his soldiers had the advantage of knowing their own country: every water hole, canyon, draw, escape route, and friendly settlement.

There can be little doubt that Pershing was hamstrung by official Washington in the punitive affair. He was told to cooperate with the Mexican generals at all costs, which he did. Cooperation, in theory a two-way street, stopped there however, and Carranza lost few chances to needle and confuse the expedition, and, in the end, openly attacked it.

Far from allowing the troopers to punish the federals, the administration in Washington sent out a note 16 days after the attack, expressing the hope that there might be "a continuation of cordial relations" between the two governments.

It is necessary to mention one overriding consideration in the Punitive Expedition Affair. It was presidential election year, and the Democratic Party was running on the slogan, "He (Wilson) kept us out of war." He had shown remarkable forbearance with Germany and her depredations at sea, and perhaps it would have seemed odd to disengage there, while punishing another country for an act of aggression. Yet as time wore on, the Mexican affair grew out of the bandit-chasing class and into a real international crisis.

In retrospect it is hard to understand why Wilson chose to recognize Carranza to begin with. Probably he did so out of repugnance at Huerta. In so doing, however, he repudiated some of his own democratic philosophies.

The antipathy between President Wilson and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge over the League of Nations is well known. Less well known is the latter's appraisal of Wilson's Mexican Policy after the Columbus raid:

The responsibility for the conditions in Mexico rests largely on the government of the United States....The result of the President's war against General Huerta was the destruction of the only government that offered any prospect of order, or peace, or responsibility. Out of this miserable tragedy one thing commands our attention above all others. Americans have been murdered in Mexico, soldiers wearing the

American uniform have been shot on the soil of the United States....We are told the great cry of the Democratic Party is to be that their President has kept peace. The virtue of keeping peace depends altogether on how it is kept. You can always keep the peace if you will submit to any wrong, any outrage, any oppression.¹⁵

The American troops remained in Colonia Dublan until January 1917. The old slogan "Villa dead or alive" faded away and was heard no more. Finally, on the last day of the month the long column headed homeward and recrossed the border on the 5th of February. That was the end of the search for Pancho Villa. Two months and one day later the whole episode was forced rudely into the background. The United States officially entered the war against the Central Powers, and a big new war was at hand.

THE BUFFALO SOLDIERS

If any one post of the United States Army might lay claim to being home station for the Buffalo Soldiers, that post would be Fort Huachuca. Both all-black cavalry regiments served there, both all-black infantry regiments, and, during World War II, both all-black infantry divisions.¹ In large measure black soldiers have contributed to Fort Huachuca's illustrious history and are worthy of special recognition in these pages.

On July 28, 1866, the Army Reorganization Act created six regiments of black soldiers: the 9th and 10th regiments of cavalry, and the 38th, 39th, 40th and 41st infantry regiments. In 1869 the 38th and 41st were consolidated to form the 24th Infantry Regiment, and the 39th and 40th were brought together to organize the 25th Infantry. More of that will be discussed later. Over the years these organizations were called Buffalo Soldiers, and veterans of the regiments will proudly alude to the sobriquet. Strictly speaking, the term ought to apply only to those black soldiers who fought in the Indian Wars, since it was the Indians who coined the term "Buffalo Soldiers." So proudly was the name carried, though, that the infantrymen adopted what the horse soldiers had won.

Derivation of the name has two sources. Some attribute it to the Indian's likening the short, curly hair of the black men to buffalo hide; others say that when the American bison was wounded or cornered it fought ferociously, displaying uncommon stamina and courage, identical characteristics of the black trooper in battle. Whatever the reason for the name, the Buffalo Soldier has come down in American military history as one of the proudest individuals of all.

At one time or another, each of the four black regiments mentioned above served at Fort Huachuca, and three of them upon several occasions. Portions of the 9th Cavalry served at the old post in 1899, 1900 and 1912. Elements of the 24th Infantry served there from 1892 to 1896, with the entire regiment present in 1892. The

24th came back in 1942 as a part of the 93rd Infantry Division. Elements of the 25th Infantry were at Huachuca in 1898 and 1899, and from 1928 to 1931; the entire regiment served at Huachuca from 1932 until 1942 and became a part of the 92d Infantry Division in 1943. The 10th Cavalry served at Fort Huachuca longer than any other U.S. Army organization: 18 years, from 1913 until 1931.

Because these all-black units constitute the largest ethnic group to serve at any United States Army installation, in the aggregate, it is only fitting to dwell briefly on the role of the black man as a soldier. His record in peace and in war has been as good and as bad as that of his white counterpart, but his exploits over the years have generally not been given the credit they deserve.

Black soldiers fought both as slaves and as freedmen in the colonial period of American history and with valor during the American Revolution. There are numerous papers made in colonial times by the governors and generals, and general assemblies of the colonies, attesting to the fact that black men were expected to bear arms against the common enemy. Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, struck the first blow for American freedom, when with four other men on March 4, 1770, he charged the Tory troops assembled in Boston near the English customs house. From the Battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775 to the surrender of the British at Yorktown eight years later, an estimated 5,000 Negro slaves and freedmen fought for American independence.

Yet their service and exploits are relatively unheralded. We hear about the minutemen drawn up on the green at Lexington, and of Captain Parker's brave reply to Major Pitcairn's request to "Disperse, ye Rebels!" We hear about the Continental Army's intrepid action at Princeton, Brandywine, Bennington, Oriskany and Saratoga. And that is good and proper; we should. But we hear very little about the black man who fought alongside the stern yankee farmers with their long rifles, powder horns and tricornered hats. And somehow this seems unfair. They fought and died for the same cause as their comrades-in-arms but have not been accorded the same credit. History is generally written with a point of view, and since blacks were a minority in colonial times and have been ever since, those preparing histories have tended to emphasize the activities of the many, and pass over the contributions of the few. Although there were black soldiers in all of our wars, they were literally swallowed up in the presence of large white majorities. It was not until the Civil War that blacks fought in units of battalion and regiment size, and

not until the post-Civil War era that they were inducted into regular army units of their own. Indeed, it was the fine record of fighting by black troops of the Union Army in the Civil War which led to the formation of the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments and the four infantry regiments mentioned. They did not have an easy time of it and had to prove themselves every inch of the way. Although some 200,000 blacks fought with the Union Army during the Civil War, and although some 40,000 of them were killed in battle, there was reluctance in many quarters to employ these troops in peacetime. Probably much of this reticence was due to the idea that blacks should be used as laborers instead of soldiers. Indeed, during the first two years of the Civil War, in 1861 and 62, blacks were limited almost entirely to non-military duties, such as teamsters, cooks and camp roustabouts. Ironically, many of these men had answered President Lincoln's call for volunteers by organizing units at their own expense and engaging in training exercises prior to induction.

As the war dragged on, blacks were given guns and told to fight. They did, and the story of their valor has remained a secret, by and large, to this very day. In a letter to one of his generals in 1863, Lincoln wrote: "The use of negroes as soldiers has been the heaviest blow dealt the rebellion."² In another letter, written a year later, he said: "Were we to abandon all posts now garrisoned by black men, we would be compelled to abandon the war in a matter of weeks."³

It is not generally known, nor fully appreciated, that in the Civil War 21 black men won the Medal of Honor, our nation's highest award. Neither is it generally known that the Union Army put 149 black regiments into the field and that these units fought in over 250 combat engagements. Moreover, they did it the hard way. There was no such thing as integration: That would not come about until almost a century later. These soldiers served under white officers who frequently feared and disliked them. As might be expected, they had castoff weapons, spotty medical care and low pay. There were some black officers, but less than 100 from a total of 200,000, and these were chiefly doctors, chaplains and staff personnel, not line officers.

This disparity in numbers, wherein almost a quarter of a million black men were commanded by 12,000 white officers and 100 black chaplains and medicos, had nothing to do with ability. It had everything to do with custom and prejudice and the fact that able black non-coms, battle-veterans, were simply not given a chance to lead in commissioned status. When one considers that they absorbed

30 percent of the casualties of that bloodiest of wars, lost almost 40,000 men, and saw action in every theatre of operation after 1862, it seems logical to observe that their sacrifices were very great and that recognition for their services has been very slow in coming.

Early on, when the regiment was all black, the 9th Cavalry ran up an enviable record against Comanches and Utes, and against the Sioux at Pine Ridge in Dakota Territory. In Cuba it captured one of the Spanish blockhouses at Santiago, and that is why the blockhouse appears on the regimental crest. In recent times, the regiment won honors as an integrated unit in the Tet counteroffensive in Vietnam.

The 10th Regiment of Cavalry is one of the unique regiments in the annals of U.S. military history. Ordered west from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, soon after its activation in 1866, it began its march into immortality. In Montana it clashed with the famous Ghost Dancers of the Sioux, and in Arizona its guidons were carried in the steep canyons belonging to Geronimo, Natchez and the "Apache Kid." The regiment distinguished itself in Cuba, at Santiago and Las Guasimas, and in the famous charge up San Juan Hill. Generally, the "Rough Riders" of Lieutenant Colonel Teddy Roosevelt are given the credit for taking the blockhouse atop San Juan Hill. They were there, and they did make the charge. What most people do not know is that the brunt of the fighting was borne by the soldiers of the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments. One eyewitness has written: "If it had not been for the Negro cavalry, the Rough Riders would have been exterminated. The 10th fought for 48 hours under heavy fire from the Spaniards, who were in brick forts on the hill."⁴

As concerns their early plains service, the black soldiers of the 10th could really sympathize with the plight of the Indians. Newly freed from involuntary servitude themselves, the Buffalo Soldiers could and did appreciate that their adversaries were fighting for their lives. Still, a soldier's lot is to obey and leave the finer points of political rationale to others. No fair-minded man could blame the Indians who rode out against the black soldiers either. Forced to gather upon reservations from the unfettered life of the nomad, the Indians had been cheated, ill-fed, poorly clothed and mistreated by corrupt federal officials bent not upon rehabilitation, but upon personal gain. Ironically, whatever good was done by able officers and men of the army in the field was soon undone by venal bureaucrats of the infamous "Indian Ring" in Washington. And, to add insult to injury, reservation officials not only permitted and

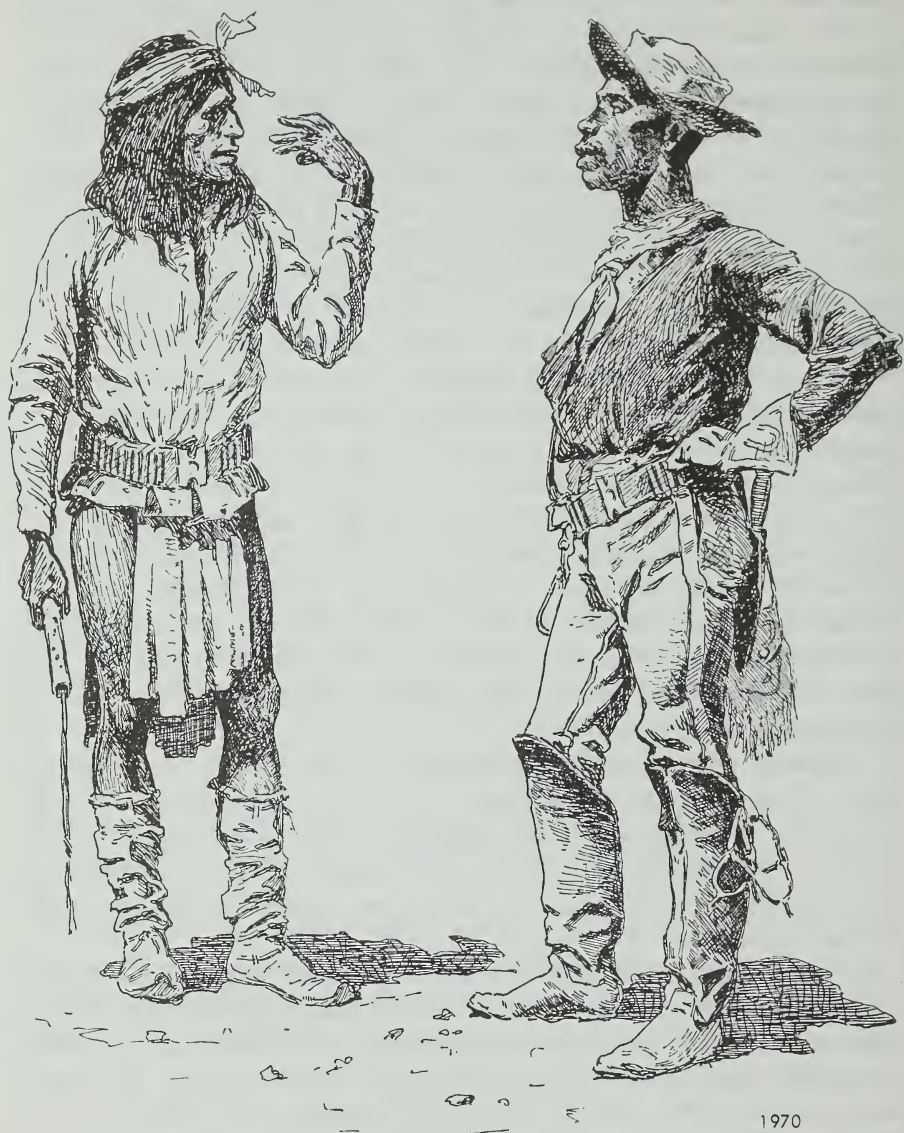
condoned the indiscriminate slaughter of buffalo, but urged it. Small wonder that the Indians, losing their chief source of food and clothing, took to the warpath. The point is that here were two ethnic groups pitted against each other in tragic conflict. The one, aborigine of prairie and mountain, fighting a heroic delaying action for a doomed way of life, the other, a soldier thrust rudely into a hostile environment and told to fight under the worst possible conditions: in searing heat in a land filled with poisonous creatures, and in snowdrifts belly-deep on horses at sub-zero temperatures, in lands as inhospitable as any on earth. Considerations of morality aside, both sides fought valiantly and are deserving of much credit.

Once activated, the 10th Regiment lost no time in getting down to business. The first and second squadrons were sent straight-away to guard and protect working parties on the Kansas-Pacific Railroad. Soon, outposts were established at Fort Harp, Fort Harker, and other places along the Smoky Hill River in Kansas. Accordingly, the Regiment's first firefight came at a place some 40 miles north of Fort Harp on the Saline River, on August 2, 1867. Company F was jumped by a band of some 300 Cheyenne, with only two officers and an understrength column this troop was forced to retire, but not before fighting for six hours and inflicting losses upon the attackers. A rugged beginning.

Nineteen days later, Captain Armes with 40 black troopers and some 80 men of the 18th Kansas Volunteers engaged some 5,000 Cheyenne in about the same locality as the earlier skirmish. One wonders how an 80-man force might stand off a veritable army. It did, though, and with relatively light losses, probably due to a good defensive position.

In the winter of 1867-68, the regiment fought in a winter campaign against Black Kettle's band of Cheyenne, a tribe bearing one of the most respected reputations of all Plains Indians. That campaign taught the troopers that they could engage in armed warfare under the most primitive and hazardous conditions. In one instance, the troopers were caught in a terrible blizzard and lost over 100 horses through starvation and freezing.

In the fall of 1868, Troops I and H of the 10th formed part of a relief party going to the rescue of Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth, marooned on a sandpit on the Republican River and surrounded by some 700 shrieking Indians. Captain Carpenter arrived first with H Troop and found Forsyth in dire straits. Rations were exhausted, and men were living on horseflesh. All horses and pack animals had been



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Remington.
San Carlos.-

"The Sign Language," by Frederic Remington, from series "A Scout With the Buffalo Soldiers."

killed, and every officer either killed or wounded. Forsyth had two wounds and lay in a shallow trench surrounded by dead animals emanating a fearful stench.

Captain Carpenter waded his men and horses to the island amidst terrible fire, reached Forsyth, and fought off repeated savage attacks until the arrival of Captain Bankhead and his column of 5th Infantry 26 hours later. The regiment was only two years old, but already it had been "blooded," not once, but numerous times.

In 1874 the Buffalo Soldiers fought the Kiowas and Nacones near Wichita Agency. The Indians resented the establishment of the post and moved to wipe it out. Companies C, E, H and L opposed some 500 determined warriors who were hitting the post from four sides. At a critical stage, the troopers of H Troop made a spirited charge through the Indian's lines and broke up the attack. Surprised and chagrined, the Kiowas retreated, carrying their wounded with them.

In the spring of 1885, the 10th Cavalry Regiment moved to Arizona. Mention of its engagements with Geronimo's renegades has been made in an earlier section of this study. Buffalo soldiers of the 10th had distinguished themselves in many places before coming to Arizona: Buffalo Springs, Saragasso, Sculptured Tanks, Tinaja de las Palmas, Ojo Caliente, and other far-flung and now-forgotten battlegrounds of the western frontier. And they would act heroically again. What sort of men were they?

In the beginning they were physically below par. Years of slavery, wretched food and sub-normal living conditions had taken their toll. When the 10th Regiment formed at Fort Leavenworth in 1866, many more applicants were turned down than were accepted. Those who were mustered in were paid \$13 per month, issued a uniform, provided a bunk and a locker box, and given plain, solid food, perhaps the best these men had had at any time. With the passing of time, bodies filled out, and the routine of a soldier's life made these men as hardy as anyone.

Sadly, most could neither read nor write and were dependent upon officers who could. Early on, Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman attacked that problem, however. He ordered that company chaplains instruct troopers in the "3 R's" as well as in spiritual matters. Prior to the time of Abraham Lincoln, blacks by law were prohibited an education. With proper reasoning, Sherman felt that if these soldiers were good enough to fight and die, they were good enough to be taught.

Interestingly, recruits for these black regiments were plentiful, but officers were scarce. Some officers did not relish the idea of isolation on the far-flung western frontier. Others were victims of prejudice. Colonel Benjamin Grierson was a happy choice as the regiment's first commanding officer. Soon after assuming command, he ordered his officers never to use the word "colored" in addressing individuals or in preparing reports. "These men are soldiers of the 10th United States Cavalry," said Grierson, "nothing more, nothing less."

In garrison life the "Buffalo Soldiers" did not have an easy time of it. Wandering into city streets or pubs alone or in small groups, they were frequently set upon by whites and manhandled. Unable to read, write, or make change, they were frequently short-changed and "stolen blind." Worst of all, they were issued horses that no one else wanted, spavined old plugs and skates a step or two ahead of the glue factory. Despite this, troopers took excellent care of these pitiful beasts, realizing that a healthy mount could be the difference between life and death. If anything, the horses probably received better care than the men who tended them, and it is not surprising that strong attachments were formed between man and horse.

One recalls the great painting by Charles Schreyvogel entitled "The Last Drop." It shows a cavalryman offering the last drop of water to his thirsty mount in an upturned hat. Any trooper caught mistreating his animal, by intent or carelessness, was forced to walk, even over the hottest desert sands. Given substandard animals to begin with, troopers had no desire to make matters worse.

As time passed, and as the acceptance of the Buffalo Soldiers grew, good horses replaced poor ones, and bays, blacks, sorrels and grays were matched in color to make for smart looking outfits. The old stables at Huachuca had such troop mounts, fine, well fed animals, properly brushed and curried by soldiers who regarded them highly.

What did the "Buffalo Soldier" look like? In the 1870's and 1880's, he wore a flannel shirt or blouse of dark blue, light blue trousers tucked into over-the-knee boots, and wore a civil war kepi adorned with crossed sabers bearing regimental and troop designation. He was armed with a 45-70 Springfield carbine, a Colt army .45 caliber pistol, 1873 model, and a sabre. He rode a McClellan saddle fitted with deep leather stirrups which covered the foot completely. Later on, the kepi was replaced with a slouch "Campaign" hat, black at first, and a light grayish-brown by 1874. He was not issued a neckerchief but generally wore one of his own

color-choice anyway, sometimes yellow, more often red or white. These were real necessities, especially for the men far back in the column needing protection from the thick clouds of dust kicked up by the front ranks.

His dress uniform was topped off with a beautiful helmet trailing cavalry yellow horsehair. The nostalgic and colorful "Army Blue" phased out about the turn of the century. Then, taking our cue from the British who used earth-colored cotton drill in the Boer War, we went to khaki also, admittedly more practical, but certainly far less colorful.

And what of the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments? Let us consider them in succession. As mentioned above, the 38th Infantry was established by executive action on July 28, 1866. It, along with the 39th, 40th and 41st Regiments, was comprised wholly of black troops with white officers. The 1866 Reorganization Act increased the army to five regiments of artillery, 10 of cavalry and 45 of infantry. Three years later, the army was reduced to 20 infantry regiments and some consolidation was in order. Hence, on November 1, 1869, and by the act of March 3rd of that year, the 38th and 41st Colored Regiments were brought together and redesignated as the 24th Infantry. Brevet Major General Ranald S. McKenzie, colonel of the 41st, became the newly formed regiment's first colonel, with Lieutenant Colonel William R. Shafter his second-in-command.

The reorganization occurred at Fort McKavitt, Texas, on the San Saba River, and at the very edge of the great Llano Estacado (Staked Plains). The black men forming the regiment could only wonder at the new environment. Here was a huge open land, filled with waving prairie grasses, teeming with a superabundance of game, immense numbers of deer and antelope, thousands of game birds of every description, and wild Texas longhorn steers roaming the plains by the hundreds of thousands, free to anyone who might catch them.

Still, all was not idyllic. The place was the domain of Comanche, Kiowa, Kickapoo and Lipan Indians who considered it their own preserve and raided white-man establishments at will. Time and again soldiers of the 24th would oppose these wild centaurs of the plains from their assignments at Fort Concho, Davis, Stockton and McKavitt. Actually, the 24th was sedentary much of the time, performing guard duty on-post and for civilian communities, railroad lines and other groupings. This was so because each post had two or more troops of cavalry assigned, most of the time and these men made the spectacular scouts into the field against Indians while the

foot-soldiers stayed home. This was not always true, however. Upon occasion Indian attacks involved infantrymen too, and with great vigor and persistence.

Travel was perilous. Captain Frederick M. Crandal was ambushed by Indians between Davis and Stockton and lost all his horses and mules, except the mount he was riding. Lieutenant Samuel Edward Armstrong fared even worse. Running into a party of Comanches between Stockton and Concho, the luckless subaltern lost almost 200 mules. While having an insufficient guard for his train, which was not his fault, he was nonetheless a long time in explaining the loss to his superiors.

The 24th remained in San Saba country until the spring of 1872 when it was transferred to posts along the Rio Grande: Brown, Ringgold, McInstosh, Clark, and Duncan. In 1875 the 24th formed part of a huge scout formed to sweep Indian resistance away between the Rio Grande and north-central Texas. This immense caravan consisted of nine troops from the 10th Cavalry, D and F Companies, 24th Infantry, and one company of the 25th Infantry. Accompanying these units were companies of Seminole and Tenkawn Indian scouts.

The expedition left Fort Concho in mid-July 1875 with 65 six-mule transport wagons, a pack train of about 750 mules and a herd of beef cattle, as a sort of commissary on the hoof. Not since the times of the Spanish conquistadores had the Indians seen anything to resemble it. Working north, by compass and by the stars, the expedition reached the north fork of the Brazos weeks later and established a supply camp.

Forging ahead, the column averaged about 25 miles per day with no landmarks in sight, only an endless ocean of waving prairie grass. Thousands of buffalo grazed on the column's flanks and antelope gazed upon the tramping soldiers in wide-eyed wonder. The expedition finally reached the Pecos River at Three Rivers, New Mexico. So great were the hardships experienced on this long distance march, that to the very last, many officers and men despaired of ever reaching the destination at all. Some expedition members had even written final messages to loved ones, to be delivered by whoever should survive the gruelling trek.

Painful as it was, the scout was effective, dealing a mortal blow to Indian tribes throughout the region. In all, members of the 24th Infantry were absent from their home stations for eight months, leaving Fort Concho in May and returning on Christmas Eve, 1875.

In 1876 a similar expedition again employed Companies D and F, 24th Infantry. With this second expedition went troops of the 8th and 10th Cavalry Regiments and two companies of the 25th Infantry. All infantry troops were commanded by Lieutenant Alfred C. Markley, Company D, 24th Infantry. This time the expedition moved south, crossing the Rio Grande and going into Mexico against the Lipan Apaches and Kickapoos. Once, the soldiers chased Indians into a village but had to retreat when the entire Mexican population sided with the Indians. The expedition returned in September, having been out for a little over five months.

The 24th Infantry first arrived at Fort Huachuca in 1892, sharing occupancy of the post with the 2nd and 11th Cavalry Regiments. The entire 24th Regiment did not come, only Companies A, B, C and H. It was a relatively quiet period in the area, devoid of the stirring activity experienced by post personnel only six years earlier. The four companies stayed on through 1896. The regiment distinguished itself at Santiago during the war with Spain, moving up the hill to capture the San Juan blockhouse with elements of the 6th, 13th and 16th Infantry Regiments. In the Philippine Insurrection, the 24th Regiment won battle streamers for action at San Isidro and Luzon.

During the Punitive Expedition into Mexico in 1916, Regimental Headquarters, Field Staff, and the 2d and 3rd Battalions (less Companies K and M) marched into Mexico on March 28th. Most of the service in that campaign was spent in the northern Sonora communities of Colonia Dublan, Corralitos, Charcos and Palomas. The 24th did not accompany the cavalry regiments to Santa Cruz de Villegas and Parral. In World War II the regiment saw service in the northern Solomons, and during the Korean War engaged in several important offensives.

The 25th Infantry Regiment came into being under a general order issued by Army Headquarters in May 1869, directing that the 25th Infantry Regiment (Colored) would be formed by consolidating the 39th and 40th regiments. The order proclaimed: "The 39th, now in North Carolina, will proceed to New Orleans, there to be consolidated with the 40th. Field Officers will be: Joseph A. Mourer, Colonel; Edward W. Hinks, Lieutenant Colonel; Zenas R. Bliss, Major."⁵

Interestingly, the 25th had an earlier organization than this. The first regiment bearing the numerical designation 25 was raised in Connecticut and organized under an Army act approved June 26,



Sgt. George Berry, 10th U.S. Cavalry, one of the heroes of the charge up San Juan Hill, July 1, 1898. "Dress to the colors, boys, dress to the colors!"

1812. It was deactivated by another act, March 3, 1815. Officers of the regiment were transferred to other organizations; enlisted men were discharged and given three month's pay. The regiment participated in the Battle of Chrystler's Field (upper Canada), November 11, 1813; Chippewa Falls, July 5, 1814, and Lundy's Lane, July 25, 1814.

In the spring of 1870, the regiment moved from stations in Louisiana and Mississippi to Texas, sailing from New Orleans and disembarking at Indianola, Texas. From that tiny gulf port, it marched overland to San Antonio. From there the regiment separated with companies going to several Texas posts. Companies C and H drew Fort McKavitt; E and I went to Fort Duncan; D and F settled in at Fort Clark; K marched to Fort Stockton; A and G were assigned to Fort Davis, and B Company drew Fort Quitman.

Like the 24th, members of the 25th Regiment spent the next few years building and repairing military posts, roads and telegraph lines. Also, its men did seemingly endless guard and escort duty. Occasionally, as in the expeditions mentioned earlier, soldiers of the regiment had the opportunity to engage in extended field service.

In May 1888, the regiment left Texas to go to Montana, exchanging stations with the 3rd Infantry. Companies were assigned billets at Fort Custer, Fort Missoula and Fort Shaw. In November 1890, the regiment came to Fort Keough with Companies C, E, F and H, and remained on post until February 1891. All companies participated in the Winter Campaign against the Sioux.

The regiment distinguished itself in Cuba, assaulting the stone fortress at El Caney. Indeed, sometime later on, the regimental crest became the shield bearing a likeness of the fortress, before a royal palm "proper," over a scroll of gold ribbon with the single word "Onward" emblazoned.⁶

After the surrender of the Spanish at Santiago, the 25th Regiment moved to El Cobre Ridge, where it remained until departing for the United States on August 13, 1898. In consonance with most of the men of the 5th Corps, soldiers of the 25th Regiment had their share of fever victims. In the days prior to leaving Cuba, fully half the command was down with it. Many of those boarding the vessel S.S. Comanche for the homeward journey had to be carried aboard.

The regiment arrived at Montauk Point, Long Island, on August 22rd, and went into camp immediately at Camp Wikoff nearby. In September the command moved to Colorado, with Headquarters and Companies I, K, L and M taking station at Fort Logan. Here there

was a reorganization, and six companies were transferred to Arizona and New Mexico Territories. Companies E and F went to Fort Wingate and Fort Bayard, New Mexico. Companies B, C and D drew Fort Apache, San Carlos Agency and Fort Grant. Companies A and H went to Fort Huachuca.

These two companies were not destined to remain long at Huachuca. On February 4, 1899, hostilities broke out between the United States and Philippine insurgents. The Philippines had been under Spanish rule for four centuries; understandably Filipinos clamored for independence with the end of our war with Spain. It was not to be. Imbued with the concept of "manifest destiny," America flexed its muscles and stayed put in the overseas places where its soldiers had given battle.

Manila was attacked by an insurgent force of almost 40,000, and the small American expeditionary force numbering 12,000 was hard put to keep itself from being pushed into the sea. General Arthur MacArthur counterattacked and occupied Caloocan, a community close to Manila. This was the time needed for reinforcement of MacArthur's small army. Soon regiments were pouring in from stations all over the country. By the end of June 1899, H Company, 25th Regiment, was departing Fort Huachuca for service in the Philippines.

Portions of the 25th Regiment served at Fort Huachuca from 1928 until 1942. For some of that time the entire regiment was there. This will be discussed in a later section. The black soldiers of the 25th carried on the proud traditions of those who had preceeded them, and they would do so again.

AMBOS NOGALES

The United States declared war upon the Central Powers in Europe on Friday, April 6, 1917. Men of Huachuca had been back on post for one month since returning from the abortive Punitive Expedition into Mexico. Almost all wanted to go to France and take a crack at the Kaiser. It was not to be. Individual officers were detached and assigned to overseas units, and there was a great flurry of promotions owing to the new situation. Sixty-two noncommissioned officers of the 10th Cavalry Regiment were given commissions, and practically every one of the older officers was promoted to field rank. Most of the NCO's went to student officer training camps in Des Moines, Iowa or Leon Springs, Texas. Understandably, not all such assignees liked the abrupt change. Life as a black soldier in a black regiment was considerably different than that as a black commissioned officer thrown into an alien society. Some survived the transition; others requested return to NCO status and were given it.

These war time promotions enabled some officers to transfer from the Reserve Corps into the National (Regular) Army. At Fort Sheridan, Illinois, a number of second lieutenants were examined for regular commissions and sent subsequently to various stations throughout the army. About a dozen drew Fort Huachuca, and upon arrival these were sent to perform guard and patrol duty in places like Arivaca, Naco, Douglas and Lochiel.

Some 800 new recruits joined the regiment between April and June, and these men, along with seasoned veterans of the Mexican Campaign, were put to work training for possible deployment overseas. Up in Huachuca Canyon a trench system was devised to initiate rookies into the new and peculiar system of modern warfare. Men were trained to use hand grenades and become proficient in using their gas masks.

The call to go overseas never came, but things kept happening along the border. The regiment had been home from Mexico for

about a year when one of its troops had a run-in with some Yaqui Indians in Atasco Canyon, west of Nogales. On January 9th, Captain Frederick L. Ryder was leading E Troop through the canyon looking for smugglers when the command was jumped by about 30 well armed Yaquis.¹

During the fall of 1917, ranchers in the vicinity of Nogales and Arivaca were increasingly bothered by roving bands of Yaquis rustling just south of the border. Although no forays had been made on U.S. soil, the threat persisted, and cowmen all along the border went armed. Yaquis, whether raiding or not, were skipping across the border in sizable numbers to work in the cotton fields and mines throughout southeastern Arizona. Wages earned there were converted into arms and ammunition for use by the Yaquis against Mexican authorities. It was a touchy situation, and residents of the border towns were understandably concerned. They complained to the military authorities who obliged by establishing a system of patrols.

At Camp Stephen D. Little in Nogales, Colonel J. C. Frier, commanding the 35th Infantry, put out patrols around Arivaca, Ruby and Oro Blanco, with one operating eastward to Lochiel. The 10th Cavalry put a squadron in camp near Little, but far enough away so that the flies drawn by horse manure would not descend upon the infantry encampment. This became a standing joke between the two service branches. Captain Otto Wagner commanded this outfit, sending daily patrols to Lochiel and Campini and west to Bear Valley.

On the day of the Yaqui incident, Capt. Ryder and E Troop rode out for Bear Valley, taking the Oro Blanco trail paralleling the border.

Intelligence had come to Ryder from Phil Clarke, a cattleman, who reported seeing a freshly slaughtered steer and many footprints near Arivaca.

Suspicion that the prints were Yaqui was bolstered by the fact that the steer hide was cut in the Yaqui's fashion for making moccasins.

In mid-afternoon Ryder saw a long column of Indians riding in single file along the skyline of a ridge. He gave chase, but so rugged was the terrain that the Indians disappeared. Still, Ryder reasoned, they must be somewhere nearby; no outfit could disappear without a trace. As his men, now dismounted and in line of skirmishers, advanced up the side of a steep canyon, the Yaquis opened fire.

For the next hour or so, the adversaries traded shots from behind trees, boulders and thick clumps of grass. The Indians kept falling back, retreating from rock to rock, but delivering a steady fire all the while. Finally a Yaqui exposed himself and put his arms above his head. Ryder ordered "Cease fire!"

As the troopers surrounded their opponents, they found only 10 Indians. All of the others, about 20, had escaped, using the small band to cover their retreat. One of the Indians was a 10-year-old boy. One man held his stomach but gave no outward sign of suffering pain. As a trooper jerked the man's hands away, the stomach spilled out gushing blood. He had been "gut-shot" by one of Ryder's men but didn't want them to know it. The stoic Indian was taken to the hospital at Nogales, but loss of blood and shock did him in; he died on the following day. The 10-year-old boy was the man's grandson, and held the dying man's head in his lap on the last leg of the journey, by car, to the Nogales hospital.

Ryder attempted to turn prisoners over to Col. Frier at Camp Little, but he wanted no part of them. He then took them to his own camp and put them to work under guard. They turned out to be surprisingly good and willing workers, and claimed that the only reason they fired upon Ryder's men was that they mistook the black cavalrymen for Mexicans. They would shoot Mexicans any time, anywhere. So pleased were the nine Indians with camp life with the soldiers of the 10th, that they actually offered to enlist in the U.S. Army. For whatever reasons impelled it, the Army turned them down.

The nine prisoners were arraigned and indicted for arms smuggling by the Pima County Grand Jury on February 9, 1918, one month to the day after their fight with 10th Cavalry troopers. One week later, a U.S. district judge dismissed the charges against the boy, Antonio Flores. The Mexican Consul in Tucson suggested that the remaining eight be deported to Sonora, from whence they came. The military governor there, General Calles, was having all sorts of trouble with Yaquis and was in no mood to exhibit clemency to law-breakers.

Federal Judge William H. Sawtelle then displayed rare judgment in sentencing the eight men to 30 days in jail. Hence, deportation was sidetracked. Presumably, the men never went back to Sonora. It is more realistic to guess that they did, however, when things quieted down and the yearning for family superseded fear.

Some seven months after the Bear Valley fight, men of Huachuca engaged in another border scrap, this one occurring on August 27th, and called subsequently the Battle of Ambos Nogales.² Early that month the intelligence division reported the presence of well armed Mexicans in and around Nogales, accompanied by caucasians, presumably German. This was not new; German activity in Mexico had been building ever since the Vera Cruz affair four years earlier, with agents operating in all of the border towns. To make matters more interesting, U.S. officials had received an anonymous letter from a man purporting to be a defector from Pancho Villa, sickened at the guerrilla chieftains tactics, and desiring to be of service to Villa's enemies. He warned of an outbreak scheduled against American border troops at Nogales, some time during the final days of August. The letter seemed to be authentic. In any case, it was the catalyst for an investigation by Lieutenant Colonel Frederick J. Herman, 10th Cavalry, and acting Sub-District Commander at Nogales, and Lieutenant Robert Scott Israel, the Infantry Intelligence Officer at Nogales. Veracity of the note was given credence when increased Mexican activity was noted just over the line.

Perhaps the Mexicans were encouraged by the staging out of the 35th Infantry, en route to duty overseas in France. The regiment was leaving Camp Little, several companies at a time, and the consensus was that all of the infantry would be gone by August 27th, leaving a garrison of but two troops of cavalry. These troops had been requested by Col. Herman on or about August 17th, when he advised the district commander at Douglas of the serious nature of the situation at Nogales.³

At about 4:15 p.m. on the 27th, a Mexican national attempted to cross from Mexican to U.S. soil and paid no heed when the U.S. Customs guard ordered him to halt. The guard drew his pistol and ran to stop the man, followed closely by Private W. H. Klint of Company H, 35th Infantry. A Mexican customs guard, seeing his countryman in difficulty, fired at the U.S. guard, missing him but killing Pvt. Klint instantly. Within seconds, Klint's buddy, Corporal William Tucker, shot the Mexican customs guard. Mexicans came running up to join in the melee, and Tucker dropped three of them in their tracks. A civilian phoned the 35th Infantry guard detail on duty at a local warehouse, and soon Lieutenant Fanning and a handful of soldiers were speeding toward the trouble spot. The Battle of Ambos Nogales had begun.

Lieutenant Colonel Herman, en route to Nogales from Camp Little, learned the news when he stopped a regimental vehicle roaring back toward camp. Returning to Little at once, he alerted the cavalry camp and assumed command of the Nogales operation. The three troops of the 10th proceeded to Nogales at a gallop, A Troop under Captain Roy V. Moreledge, C under Captain Joseph D. Hungerford, and F under Captain Henry C. Carol. Simultaneously, three companies of infantry under Captain H. E. Marshburn were loading up at Little for transportation to Nogales by truck.

Captain Carol was assigned the Titcomb Hill area and the west end of International Avenue. Moreledge established himself on Morley Avenue, ready to cross over into Mexico should the occasion demand it. Hungerford, with C Troop, was placed in reserve near Reservoir Hill. Colonel Herman set up his command post in the railway depot. Hungerford did not remain in reserve for long. The infantry unit assigned to clear Reservation Hill could not do it so Hungerford had to, C Troop swapping places with the errant foot-soldiers.

Things almost got out of hand. While Companies F and G, 35th Infantry, were taking assigned positions along Titcomb and Reservoir Hills, with H in reserve, excited American citizens were running up and down the streets, firing wildly at the Mexican side of town. The Santa Cruz County Sheriff, Earhart, was ordered by Col. Herman to round up all of the well meaning but trigger-happy citizens and confine them in city hall.

By now fire from the Mexican side was heavy, slamming into buildings all up and down the line on the American side. Herman decided to clear the line of houses on the Mexican side of International Avenue and the snipers shooting from the roof of the Concordia Club. Moreledge was assigned the task and did it with surprising speed and efficiency. In rousting snipers from the Concordia Club, Troop A men came upon a bevy of scantily clad señoritas huddled together for safety. "Sergeant Jackson," wailed one, "We are all so glad to see you!"⁴ The sergeant had visited the building before on other business.

From the club Moreledge sent his men to the top of a nearby hill, a squad at a time. From that vantage point he was "looking down the throats" of Mexicans firing on the American soldiers.

Shortly after the fight began, Col. Herman was wounded in the right leg, and, almost at the same time, Capt. Carol took a shot in the right arm above the wrist. The shot felled Carol who was picked up by First Sergeant Thomas Jordan and carried to safety. Jordon, a

tough old noncom, proceeded coolly to assume command of F Troop until Carol could resume it.

Just after crossing the International Line, Capt. Hungerford was shot through the heart and died instantly. Several of his C Company men were killed also while making this frontal assault upon Mexican troops, but the remainder pressed on, climbing the hill and clearing the trenches and rifle pits. Like First Sgt. Thomas Jordan, First Sergeant James Penny assumed command of his company when his commander fell. Captain James Duke, 10th Cavalry, was in Nogales on business when the fighting broke out. Volunteering his services, he was assigned to command C Troop when Hungerford fell. By the time he reached his post, First Sgt. Penny had things well in hand.

Coming into position, men of the 35th Infantry were exposed to enemy snipers. Lieutenant Loftus and Corporal Lots were killed instantly, probably drilled by the same marksman. Corporal A. L. Whitworth was hit and bravely rescued by two women who ran from their houses to drag the injured man to safety. A Private of F Company was dropped by a Mexican bullet in front of the home of a man named Bird. Bird's niece, June Reed, exposed herself to fire to move the unfortunate man to safety. It would seem that the American women of Nogales were not lacking for courage.

The fight was not without its comic side. One black soldier, sick in the hospital when hostilities began, had no intention of being left out of a good scrap. Jumping on a horse, bareback, he galloped off to the fray, hospital gown flapping in the breeze. En route he had to stop at the quartermaster shed to draw a rifle and several bandoliers of ammunition. He did, but only after signing a receipt for the ordnance NCO in charge. As the old saw has it: "rules is rules."

One 10th Cavalry officer conducted a private little war of his own. Lieutenant William Scott was riding his motorcycle to Nogales from Fort Huachuca, quite oblivious of the fact that a battle was in progress in the border town. Nearing it, he heard the staccato bursts of rifle fire and took a back road into town to investigate. Approaching Nogales from the east, he was thus able to place himself on the high ground overlooking the town's main street and get a bird's eye view of proceedings. Sizing up the situation at a glance, he used both pistol and Winchester rifle to "snipe the snipers." The rifle was one he had taken from a Yaqui soldier in the fight at Bear Valley some months earlier.

At about 5:45 p.m., U.S. Consul E. M. Lawton and Sheriff Earhart delivered a message from the Mexican commander to Col. Herman. The message was to the effect that if the Americans would run up a white flag and cease firing, the Mexicans would do the same thing. Herman's reply was instantaneous, informing that if the Mexican fire did not stop within 10 minutes, he would come over with all of his forces and burn Nogales, Sonora, to the ground.

By now sizable portions of Herman's command were already on the Mexican side, firing from the hilltops and from windows in occupied buildings in town. The Mexicans were losing heavily and could do little else than throw in the towel. At about 6 p.m., the Mexican commander ran up a white flag from the Customs House but neglected to call a ceasefire order.

A messenger from the Mexican Consul informed Herman that the Mexican commander desired a conference in the U.S. Consulate on the Sonora side. At about 6:20, therefore, Col. Herman, accompanied by Consul Lawton, Lt. Robert S. Israel, Intelligence Officer, and a bugler proceeded to the consulate, but under a constant and heavy fire from Mexican troops. Fortunately, all hands arrived at the meeting place unscathed. The Mexican commander's first act was to demand that Herman and Israel surrender their weapons. He was informed brusquely that he might take them if he could. Frustration and pride might have induced him to attempt such a rash act, but by now a gathering detachment of 10th Cavalry soldiers was standing in front of the Consulate building. The angry commandant pursued the matter no farther.

Amazingly, the Mexican commander denied any participation in the battle by Mexican government forces, repeatedly insisting that the several hours of firing was the work of irresponsible strangers in Nogales. He was unable to explain, however, how it was that his troops had taken their cue from "strangers" to pour withering fire into Nogales, Arizona.

During the night a trainload of armed Mexican soldiers arrived from Hermosillo, only to be confronted with the machine gun group and several additional troops of cavalry from Fort Huachuca and some field artillery from Fort Bliss. That settled the matter; the Battle of Ambos Nogales was over. Brig. Gen. De Rosey C. Cabell, Commander, District of Arizona, came in from Douglas to put finishing touches on the affair.

Total losses on the American side were two officers, three enlisted men and several civilians killed; two officers and 29 men were wounded.

There was little doubt that the whole sorry affair had been engineered by German agents in an effort to occupy U.S. troops with Mexico and so draw them off from contact with the Central Powers overseas. Indeed, the bodies of two German agents provocateur were recovered with the Mexican dead and buried with them.

After the fight intense excitement prevailed along the border for some time. Companies A, D, K and the Machine Gun Company of the 25th Infantry arrived to take station at Camp Stephen D. Little on August 30th, just three days after the fight.⁵ When the battle was at its height, these men of the 25th were boarding an S.P. train out of San Francisco, after recent arrival from a long tour at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii.

THE TWILIGHT ZONE

The post-Punitive Expedition era and that attending the days during and immediately following the first world war were interesting ones for personnel at Fort Huachuca. They were interesting because they represented a sort of twilight zone separating the "old days" from modern times. Before and during these periods, life was relatively slow and uncomplicated. Transportation and communication were primitive; prices were ridiculously low; labor was plentiful and cheap; institutions were solid, and the happy individuals of that former time did, as the poet Gray has so eloquently phrased it, "keep the noiseless tenor of their way."

With the "Roaring Twenties" and the subsequent 30's and 40's, a whole new way of life appeared, bringing with it hurry, frustration, inflation and new values which turned American society, and indeed that of most of the world, upside down. Things have never been the same since nor will they be ever again. It will not be improper, therefore, to take a look at Huachuca and environs through the eyes of its World War I inhabitants.

In February, Colonel Frederick Theodore Arnold came to Fort Huachuca for a seven-month tour. A diary kept by his wife illuminates the pattern of life on-post 60 years ago. The Arnolds drove their seven-passenger Hudson to Huachuca from San Francisco. The trip which presently requires about 20 hours of driving time, took 10 days. Three days were required to travel between San Francisco and Los Angeles; that was the fastest leg because the roads, while not macadamized, were in respectable repair. Flying through the unimaginative community of Modesto, goggles affixed and neck-scarf billowing, Col. Arnold was arrested by the local constabulary for doing 35 miles per hour. Around Barstow and Needles, Arnold's heavy juggernaut got bogged down in sand several times and at Parker crossed the Colorado on a one-car ferry, traveling over the swirling waters held by a thin wire cable.



Seven passenger Hudson "Super-Six" owned by Col. Frederick T. Arnold, Post Commander, Fort Huachuca, February - August 1918. Photo taken in front of quarters number 1, on Memorial Day, May 30, 1918.

Arnold had a rough time crossing the Gila River near Florence. As he approached the normally dry riverbed, he was dismayed to see it filled with rushing water. Some Mexicans camped along the shore advised against trying to cross over. Arnold thanked them, went upriver for a short distance, and found the construction camp used by a bridge-building crew. The foreman graciously allowed Arnold, his wife and four children to sleep in his tent containing two single-width cots. Mrs. Arnold took one of these; the four kids were placed crosswise on the other, like sticks of wood. The colonel spent the night in a broken rocking chair. The tent leaked, and it rained all night long.

In the morning Arnold drove the Hudson onto a hay wagon, using a hastily built earthen ramp made by the bridge crew. The car was too long for the wagon, and so the front bumper was unscrewed. Four large draft horses pulled the groaning wagon through water about three feet deep, while the sandy bottom sucked at the slowly turning wheels. The road between Tucson and Fort Huachuca was little better, with the weary Arnolds bogging down in arroyos and sandy stretches.

Arriving on post Friday, March 1, 1918, the exhausted Arnolds were greeted by the regimental adjutant who took them straightaway to his quarters for a hot meal. They needed it. Mrs. Arnold's description of life at Fort Huachuca is best left to her own pen:

Our quarters were very old, a typical old commanding officers house, high ceilings and rambling. Downstairs is so roomy we will never be able to furnish it completely even though we have the mahogany quartermaster furniture. There is a downstairs bedroom and bath for guests. There is a hall, library, parlor, dining room and ballroom besides the conservatory, butler's pantry, kitchen and laundry and four fireplaces. Upstairs there are four bedrooms and a bathroom and many closets. Outside is a house for servants with bathroom, another house for a striker,¹ a large chicken yard and coop, a garage, stable for four horses, a granary and a corral.

We are eating our meals at the Post Exchange Restaurant which is run by a Chinese and a very good mess for officers. We are looking for a cook and have a fine striker already.

Our screened front porch is all covered with ivy. The trees are budding and soon the post will be green. There is a little school here with two white teachers and a colored teacher. The state of Arizona furnishes the teachers and all the school supplies, books and desks. Miss McDonald teaches the four lower grades and has about 20 children in class. Miss Sady Hughes has 15 of the older children. Miss Jones is the colored teacher and teaches the colored children in another little building.² There are several girls and boys the ages of our children here on the post. Lt. Col. and Mrs. Rodney have three boys and they live next door.³

This post is built on the same plan as all frontier posts used to be, in a square with the officers line on one side and barracks across on the other. The flag staff is right in front of our quarters. We have cement walks and electric lights. There is an ice plant and an electric light plant right here and our fine clear water comes right down from the mountains. We also have a wireless station. The milk and cream here is perfectly delicious. We are all drinking milk now and it is only 12 cents a quart.

Fred has an automobile furnished by the government, a Dodge, and a colored chauffer, Corporal Murphy, who also knows how to drive our Hudson. Fred has dealings with cattlemen and ranchers and all sorts of people who want to graze cattle on the reservation. The 1st Cavalry has a squadron camped down at our target range and yesterday their horses broke from the picket line and stampeded all over the hills. A bunch came tearing through the post with men after them.

The whole post has called on us. We had about 30 callers the second evening. Mr. and Mrs. Corbin are visiting the Richmonds. They are Mrs. Richmond's parents from Baltimore.

Our property came and was unloaded and uncrated the same day. Last evening we went to a musical party at Captain Shelton's. His mother, Mrs. Hubbard, played beautifully and we sat in the

firelight, then had salad and coffee. The J. F. Richmonds and George B. Rodneys were there too.

We are getting settled quite fast. Our striker, Hankerson, is indispensable. He mops the whole house, shines the shoes and runs errands. I have a fine laundress. I send the heavy pieces to the Post Laundry which is fine. They charge three cents a piece for anything from a handkerchief to a stiff shirt or bed spread. They do the officer's pieces separate from the soldiers.

Yesterday, being Sunday, we stopped working and went for a nice ride. Fred is making every soul in this post work this week cleaning up, both inside the buildings and outside. The whole post had an unkempt appearance and was ready for the "spring cleaning." The soldiers are fine and the band is very good. They give us concerts every so often.⁴

It is absolutely out of the question to shop here.⁵ Our nearest little town is 26 miles away, then Bisbee and Douglas and Nogales are little towns further away with poor facilities for shopping.

The maid is cleaning woodwork and is a fine worker. All the house has white woodwork and cream colored walls. The woodwork shows every finger mark.

Monday, we took Capt. and Mrs. Richmond and drove over to Tombstone. Tombstone in the early days was the toughest town in this part of the country and prides itself on having a saloon with bullet holes still showing in it. It is a town just like those they represent in the movies except it is quite desolate as not many live there now.⁶

We take the Douglas Daily Dispatch, which reaches us at noon of the day it is published, then in the evening we get the Tucson paper. It has all the associated press news. We were certainly excited Saturday when the first news of the great German drive reached us over the phone from our wireless operator here.⁷ He phoned the news to each officer on the post and we could talk of nothing else.

While Fred was away on a trip, 180 horses arrived for the troops to fill out as a lot had been condemned

lately. From our porch I could see the train where they were unloading. The horses are the wildest things you ever saw and there was no corral to unload them into. They just bolted in all directions. The troopers on horseback had to lasso the wildest ones as they ran all over the parade ground and up on the hills and it took the officers and men all day to unload them and catch them. Someone said they were from the northwest and many had never been shod or ever had a saddle on their backs.

We are finishing the month out at the Chinaman's mess and have a cook coming the first of the month. We will also have a second girl coming the same day. Helen Hudson is the second girl, Harrison the cook, and Mrs. Hudson is the laundress. Hankerson, the striker, is giving the porch a good cleaning with the hose and has been planting the garden. We have beets, beans, radishes and lettuce.

Our cook, Freeman, is doing very well, he is a soldier from C Troop, wears white, and waits on table. He has cooked for five colonels here and is always telling us what the other colonels did. I sent him over to the commissary after some extra things and he drove over in his own car. He has a five passenger Studebaker car. Seems odd to have a cook with his own automobile.

Yesterday, we drove over to Bisbee, a mining town about 42 miles from here. The city is built up a gulch just wide enough for one street and the stores and houses on the sides are built mostly where rock is dug away, then away up the hills on both sides are the rest of the buildings, all one above the other like the cliff dwellers. Long flights of steps lead on up and up from house to house. It is the queerest town and the street is paved but runs right up-hill its whole winding length with a street car line. We drove up the whole length of the street, must have been two miles and found that there must be several thousand people there, and it is the busiest place you ever saw. I found that the Phelps Dodge Mercantile Company have an

enormous general store with everything from carpet tacks to oranges and hair nets. I bought some kitchen ware, oil cloth and vegetables.

The assistant adjutant, Lieutenant Atwood, expects his wife and two-month-old baby tonight from Minneapolis. To make her trip shorter, she is going to get off at 9:30 at Hereford, about 25 miles from here and we are going over with our car to meet them. We are going to put all the curtains on the car to make it warmer as it will be a chilly drive at night.

Fred has gone out to a ranch, with the children, to see about borrowing a plow for the post garden. Our rose bushes are blooming. We have had wind from the south for several days that stirs up the dust and it is hard to keep the house clean. The cotton from the cottonwood trees just blows in drifts around like snow, but the porches are all screened in so it does not get into the house. The post water supply is getting low and they say in mid-summer it is quite a problem to get enough water from the springs up in the mountains because we will have no rain until fall.⁸ Last evening the quartermaster phoned that the reservoir was empty and so the water was off nearly all night filling the reservoir for today.⁹

We bought twelve Rhode Island Red hens from a ranch up in Mustang Pass on April 6th. During the next nine days, we got three dozen eggs. Hens cost us \$10.20. On April 15th we bought a part-Jersey cow for \$125.

There is sunshine all the time, but we do need rain. The cattle roam over the dry country looking for water or a sprig of green to eat. Our water supply is better now and we have enough for the reservoir to overflow at night into the irrigation ditches so the cottonwood trees are fine and green. They have been watering the horses at the swimming pool.¹⁰

There is a troop out on the parade ground now, formed in a semi-circle, mounted, and a photographer is taking a panoramic picture.

Beulah came to wash starting May 22nd and we pay her \$12 a month. We have had several callers lately, the Sharpes, Richmonds, Hubbards, Confers, Parkers, Menohers and several bachelors.

The troops are fighting forest fires up over the mountains right on the other side. Fred ordered three more troops out over the telephone at two o'clock this morning. Two troops could not handle it as they were all tuckered out. So five troops are out now.¹¹ We have just come back from the services at the post cemetery where the chaplain conducted a service. We ladies went up to the gymnasium Tuesday and we made 250 wreaths out of evergreens cut up in the canyon. We tied the evergreens on bailing wire and had about 20 men help with the wire hoops. Then this morning the ladies, children and all the troops marched out and decorated each of the 250 graves with a wreath and a flag. The band played appropriate airs and the people sang a few hymns and the chaplain¹² gave an address and read President Wilson's request for this to be a day of fasting and prayer. The troops are all leaving out one meal today and all the families are doing the same. While I am writing, the band is standing around the flag pole in front of the quarters playing a funeral march, then the enormous garrison flag, which has hung at half staff all morning, was raised while they played the Star Spangled Banner, then America. The gun will not fire the usual salutes this year as the order says not to on account of the waste of ammunition.¹³ This is a holiday, a free movie-show both this afternoon and evening, a few hymns and the chaplain present at each.

The water situation is serious. Each day the water stops running about dinner time and does not come on until morning. Fred had a most successful trip down to Nogales and said the large trees and lots of green did not seem a bit like Arizona.¹⁴ The Richmonds had Murphy drive them in the Dodge. They ran out of gasoline, their radiator leaked, and

coming home after dark they got lost. They reached a ranch house finally and the man drew a sketch of the roads so they could find their way back to the post. Fred ran over a snake. Everyone is seeing snakes these days. We killed a centipede on our front walk a few days ago.

This morning at 1:10 a.m. our fifth little daughter arrived. Dr. D. C. Hyder was the doctor and my nurse, Miss Florence Smith from Tucson, is taking care of me. We have named the baby, Helen Elizabeth, and she was born at quarters number 1.

Six days later, Fred received orders to go to the 80th Field Artillery at Camp McClellan, Alabama. He left on the 18th of July. The band and 24 of the officers and the children saw him off. Col. Rodney fell into command.

We had to lose our cook as Col. Rodney will allow me only one man and Freeman could not milk the cow. We cook our own breakfasts and lunches and go to the mess in the evenings for dinner. I have no one but Harris now.

We are tearing up the house, the furniture is all crated and the boxes packed, only the trunks are left to pack.

Sam Kee, who runs the mess, came over and presented us with six Canton China egg-cups as a going-away gift.

The children and I went to the station on the morning of August 25th in a Dougherty wagon. We are enroute to St. Paul, Minnesota. Also on the train were Miss Smith, the nurse, Maj. Murphy who went as far as El Paso and Mrs. Craig, Malin's mother, who went as far as Kansas City.¹⁵

The fine reminiscences by Mrs. Frederick Arnold depict graphically the spring and summer months of Fort Huachuca in 1918. Let us consider another season - Christmas.

For most of us Christmas is a very special season. It is a time of love, affection and spiritual rebirth. It is a time when we willingly put aside petty grievances and tiny malices, and are inspired by the Christian attitudes of charity and giving. Also, it is a time for fun, as

we buy presents, sing carols and push through crowded stores where Salvation Army lassies jingle tambourines and Santas dandle wide-eyed youngsters on a padded knees.

Alas, in this frenzied and computerized age, Christmas has changed somewhat. It is still a glorious time, but it has assumed an air of plasticity, wherein material values have pushed aside spiritual ones, and wherein the sturdy craftsmanship of yesteryear is replaced by cheap and tawdry gimcracks. Sadly, there is a quality of sameness about the trappings of Christmas now. For example, tree ornaments are made of plastic instead of glass, and they all look alike. How many times have you pondered, at your local supermarket, to buy this basket of blue plastic eggs or that basket of red ones? Once, you had a choice from a wide selection of German and Austrian importations, beautiful spun glass figures or reindeer, angels, elves, and countless other exciting and intriguing sculptures, each one with its own charming characteristic and as individualistic as snowflakes.

Once, dolls for little girls were works of art with beautiful porcelain and china heads, long golden curls and painstakingly authentic period dress. Now they cry, wet and blink, and they are all named "Barbie" or "Candy," and they all look alike. Toys are made not to last but to break, and by New Year's day a child's playroom takes on the appearance of a disaster area, with cracked plastic, bent tin and splintered wood.

In this jet age it is as easy to visit grandma in Iowa as it once was to drive from Fort Huachuca to Tucson. Hence, the holiday season sees our airports jammed with irascible pilgrims missing flights, losing luggage, listening to acid-rock over noisy PA systems, and gulping meals at snack counters. Where once we stayed home at Christmas, now we inundate our freeways with hurtling steel capsules and maim or kill each other. Newscasters keep boxscores on it, but the mad scramble continues. It is easy, of course, to scorn the national bent to trade in cheap commodities, replace beauty with mediocrity, and race about mindlessly. Despite these things, Christmas is still a lovely and glorious time. Once, though, it had a slower pace and was a lovelier season still. Consider, if you will, the soldier's Christmas at Fort Huachuca half a century ago.

For one thing, hardly anyone had a car, so people walked wherever they went. All activities closed down on the afternoon of December 23rd, and there were no further assignments except the necessary guard and fatigue duties, and of course the care and feeding of horses. A few hardy souls took the train from Huachuca

Siding to Tucson, thence east to St. Louis, Dubuque, or Omaha, but most people stayed on-post.

In the bracing mountain air, families walked along Officer's Row and in front of barracks, pausing to exchange greetings and linger awhile. Officers, frequently accompanied by family members, would be guests of troop messes where toasts were drunk and pleasantries exchanged. Commanders would judge the artistic and culinary artistry of troop Christmas dinners, a competition which kept chefs and pastry cooks in a high state of excitement during the holidays. Soldiers called upon troop commanders for "remarks" wherein the witticisms expressed resulted in all manner of railery, applause, hooting and hollering in a spirit of genuine good fellowship.

In quarters, officers celebrated Christmas with their families in time-honored tradition. There was no central heating or electric wall stoves, and heat was supplied by slow burning mesquite logs gathered up in the flatlands north of post. The fireplaces were huge affairs where whole logs burned brightly, sending off showers of sparks into retaining screens. Generally, there was snow by Christmas at Huachuca, and, as the sun dipped below Huachuca Peak, long shadows faded from the parade ground at the end of a beautiful day.

The author expresses the hope that a personal reminiscence of Fort Huachuca in 1918 will not be taken amiss. I lived in Fort Huachuca as a boy and have some knowledge of how Christmas was celebrated there in former years. Father was commanding officer of the 10th Cavalry and served simultaneously as post commander. Christmas in our house in 1918 was memorable, because, among other things, a part of the regimental band came into the house and piped the plum pudding around the table, British Army style.¹⁶

The kitchen was a wondrous workshop with mother directing a corps of people in the preparation of a remarkable assortment of good things. Beautiful and savory aromas assailed the air: there was fudge cake icing, popovers, sage and chestnut dressing, whipped potatoes and candied yams. The turkey was an absolute whopper, looking more like an ostrich than a turkey and done to a crackling, golden brown. The piece de resistance was a roast pig complete with apple in mouth, and the tray was adorned with holly and sprigs of evergreen. In one corner of the kitchen, a striker turned a handcrank to make strawberry ice cream, and in another a man cracked walnuts with a hammer.

The tree was in the living room. It was a dark, erect fir brought down from the mountain top and was about 12 feet high. Loaded

with ornaments, icicles and tinsel strands, it shimmered gloriously with hundreds of candles set in metal reflectors. In the more than half-century which separates that time from this, I have never seen a more beautiful tree.

Throughout the rooms were bowls of creamy chocolates and hard, striped, "Christmas candy." On the sideboard were decanters full of fine liquors, and mistletoe and holly were arranged generously over every entrance to the room.

Dieting was not fashionable then, and so no one held back at the festive board. Although calorie-counting was not a fad, sensible eating habits prevailed generally throughout the year. At Christmas time, though, all bets were off.

And the toys. Today, if kids get toy soldiers at all, they are tiny rubberized figures, generally a sickly yellow-brown in color, or a pallid grey. Moreover, they show mould marks. Then, if you were lucky enough to get them, you got beautiful soldiers of lead, made in England or Austria, each one a true work of art. That year I was given German Uhlans, Hungarian Hussars, Civil War Zouaves, British and French soldiers of the armies of Wellington and Napoleon, and even a few beetle-browed Roman Legionnaires. It is a tribute to the craftsmen who made them that I still have a few, after 58 years.

I received also a beautiful electric train, a flexible flyer sled, and a ten dollar gold piece. From 1933 until 1975, Americans were forbidden to own gold. Now that it is once more available, it probably has low priority as a Christmas gift. In 1918 it seemed a most remarkable present. My sister was given dolls and apparel, but at two was probably too young to appreciate the beauty of either.

World War I, "the" war, had ended just six weeks earlier, on November 11th, and so there was much for which to be grateful. Still, mother and her friends were making woolen helmet liners and mittens for the doughboys over in France. Our victrola played songs like "K-K-K-Katy," "Tipperary," and "How Ya Gonna Keep 'em Down On The Farm?" One young officer with a beautiful tenor voice made the ladies cry with his renditions of "Just A Baby's Prayer At Twilight" and "Roses of Picardy."

Out in front of quarters was father's staff car, a huge old Studebaker sedan, with wooden spoke wheels and isinglass side-curtains. Perched in the rear seat you rode along like a Rajah, about six feet off the ground. It had running boards and a graceful radiator cap, a sort of silver winged victory figure as I recall.

There weren't many places to go in it. Tucson was considered a long journey. Besides, the road was dirt and narrow, filled with chuck holes, puddles, and all manner of obstruction. Huachuca, Garden and Ramsey Canyons were excellent picnic sites, however, and it was great fun to load up the old ark with a hamper full of goodies and "rough it" under the huge old sycamores and cottonwoods up in the canyons.

Speaking of goodies, we were regular patrons at Mar Kim's restaurant up on the west end of the parade ground, not only in the holiday season, but year 'round. My particular memory is of great stacks of buckwheat cakes smothered in log cabin syrup. You can still buy log cabin syrup, but it comes in bottles now. Then it came in little log cabins made of tin, but offering integrity of name along with the delicious product.

The years have come and gone. As Margaret Mitchell wrote in "Gone With the Wind" - "those days are gone forever, never to return." The cynic might say, "and just as well," but those of us who recall the Christmas seasons of yesteryear do so with great affection, and offer the passing tribute of a sigh.

On my desk for years was a hollow glass ball with a woodcutter's cabin set against a forest of pine. When you turned it upside down, a miniature snowstorm ensued, conjuring up the solemn mystery and beauty of Christmas. It is gone, but the mind's eye still evokes the memory of Christmas at Fort Huachuca in 1918.

TALES OF FORT HUACHUCA

One way to present history is to recite facts and figures. Another way is to tell a story. The following things happened to people associated with Fort Huachuca in the 1920's; recounting these tales will serve the reader more appropriately than a presentation of graphs and statistical tables.

One day in the early 1920's, G Troop of the 10th Cavalry was on a tactical maneuver out of Fort Huachuca and passed through a hamlet, one of those places with a few clapboard storefronts and the gray sagging weight of years. Nobody noticed when a nondescript mutt joined the column and tagged along in the dust cloud at the rear. That evening, when the weary troopers were scrounging the last traces of chow from their mess kits, an officer noticed one of the men feeding some stew to the canine recruit.

"What's that dog's name, soldier?"

"I don't know, sir, he just came nosing around a little while ago." On the following morning, near the mess tent, the officer spotted the same men dumping some cereal into a pan for the dog.

"Have you named that flea bag yet?"

"Well, sir, he got away with two rations of stew last night, and he's a real bum. We're gonna call him 'Stew Bum.'"

By common consent the animal became the troop mascot, sleeping in the squad room on post and trotting along in column on maneuvers. He became a personality, a sort of "privileged character" looked after and attended to by his two-legged friends in G Troop, and known far beyond the confines of his own home grounds. He trotted around the post with authority, carrying his tail erect like a wart hog and letting it be known that he was the top dog of the regiment. He was an enlisted man's dog, first and last. A soldier had fed him and troopers had adopted him. Officers were all right but at a distance. One day a new lieutenant sauntered into G Troop's day room and Stew Bum went wild, barking and yapping at the surprised shavetail who beat a tactical retreat. As officers rarely intruded upon the privacy of troopers, the incident was soon forgotten.

Some time later, Stew Bum was sauntering along Officer's Row and came upon a striker polishing a pair of officer's boots. He set up a fearful racket and had to be chased off with a stick. The owner of the boots smelled something fishy about his odd behaviour and made an investigation of his own.

The truth came out. On paydays troopers in barracks all along the line draped OD blankets over the windows and rolled the dice. The vocabulary was the same then as it is now: "Natural, dice, natural!" "Little Joe, the hard way!" "Eighter from Decatur!" The importunings were the same, but the voices were subdued. Apprehension by an officer could mean a fine, reduction in rank, or even a tour in the guardhouse.

All good soldiers have lookout systems. In the field it's a perimeter defense of outposts whose lonely sentinels look and listen for the enemy. In the garrison sentries walk post to defend against pilferage and surprise. In the crap games hosted by G Troop, it was Stew Bum.

When the plucky little cur had first "joined up," the men had hung up a pair of officer's boots and taught their charge to raise hell whenever he saw a pair. And he did. No outsider was going to break up G Troop's crap game! Boots were the enemy, and Stew Bum knew what to do.

Money kept right on changing hands on paydays - not as the result of punishment, but because "snake-eyes" and "box-cars" kept coming up more often than "naturals." Stew Bum couldn't distinguish between the trooper who lost his wad on payday and the one with the fistful of greenbacks. But he sure knew the difference between a pair of brogans and a pair of shiny cavalry officer's boots.

Stew Bum had a long and even illustrious life. He was the darling of the G Troop for obvious reasons, but more than that he was well known throughout the post and enjoyed the privileged status of a bona fide "character." Not so fortunate was one old black trooper whose luck ran out one night after carousing in the gin mills of Naco.

Just a few miles southeast of Fort Huachuca lies the sleepy little border town of Naco. It is one of those places which straddle the international line, part of the community lying in the United States, part of it lying in Mexico. It is a quiet hamlet and the gringos rarely go there any more. They prefer the gay shops and neon lights of Nogales and Agua Prieta, and the festive music of the mariachi bands wandering in and out of the cafes.

Naco has a tiny park with a tiny bandstand, and a bust of the patriot Benito Juarez mounted in a concrete pillar. No bands use ti-

graceful little kiosk now, and hardly anyone pauses to read the inscription identifying Juarez.

Yes, Naco is sleepy now. Torn bits of paper flutter forlornly in the streets, and stray dogs scratch themselves in sagging door ways. It was not always so. In the days of the great Mexican Revolution, Naco was a thriving community, alive with the ceaseless comings and goings of Mexican federal and insurgent troops. Because of that, American troops by the thousands from Fort Huachuca, Camp Stephen D. Little,¹ and other Arizona installations were stationed all along the international line with a heavy concentration at Naco on the U.S. side. This situation maintained from the summer of 1912, off and on until about 1920 and with a resurgence of activity during the late 1920's.

In those days Naco had a peculiar but fascinating appearance to Americans viewing it for the first time. It was full of windmills. As there was no electric power plant in the area, all mechanical power was generated by wind. Each adobe shack and public building had its own windmill, clacking noisily away and giving the town the appearance of a rustic Spanish village in Estremadura or Galicia.

Even Hotel Naco had one perched proudly on its roof. A massive structure with walls three feet thick, that piquant old hostelry had a sign over its entrance announcing: "This hotel is bulletproof." Not a bad slogan for an inn located in a place where the bullets fell like hail. And the bullets didn't always land on the Mexican side of the line. In the days before World War I, the Germans were active in and around Naco, acting as military consultants to revolutionary forces. With these experts as teachers, rebel soldados expended tons of ammunition in ear-shattering salvos at the federal troopers.

In the winter of 1914, Capt. Cornelius C. Smith, commanding G Troop, 5th U.S. Cavalry, took his men from Fort Huachuca to Naco. There was no government housing so he put his wife and baby in a box car of the EP and SW (El Paso and Southwestern Railroad). Mrs. Smith, undaunted by the primitive surroundings, hung lace curtains in the windows punched through the sturdy wooden siding and placed geranium pots on the sills.

On November 15, 1914, a brush fire broke out just over the line from Smith's box car. Bullets peppered the car and everyone in the area ran for cover. The American commander, Col. Wilbur E. Wilder, called the captain to him, saying: "Smith, you speak Spanish. Go on over there and tell those people to stop firing in this direction."

Carefully, Smith crossed a fire-swept zone of about 100 yards, zigzagging over open terrain and dropping for cover several times before reaching his objective - an open gun pit. The emplacement was manned by a federal gun crew and commanded by a tall, blonde and amiable German from Milwaukee. He listened attentively to Smith's complaint and the veiled threat of massive retaliation up and down the line if the indiscriminate firing persisted. In a display of rare international cooperation, he stopped all firing while Smith scrambled to safety before swinging his guns about to pepper the rebels in another quarter. As late as 1929 there were contending forces in action at Naco. On the western edge of town, traces of trenches used there are visible still.

The town owes its existence to the copper baron, William Cornell Greene. When he acquired mining rights in Cananea at about the turn of the century, he needed a place on the border to serve as a port of entry for ore going to the smelter in Douglas. A community sprang up, just a few random shacks at first, followed by a customs office, hotel, hole-in-the-wall shops, and of course the inevitable cantinas. The place needed a name.

You may search long and diligently in a Spanish dictionary for a meaning to the word. You will find nothing. Colonel A. B. Packard, an Arizona banker and mining man, named the place simply by making an acrostic. He borrowed the last two letters from the name Arizona, and the last two from the name Mexico, and put them together. Presto - Naco!

It seemed as though everything Colonel Bill Greene touched turned to gold. Not only were the copper deposits of Cananea utterly fabulous, the railroad line he built between Cananea and Naco became a veritable gold mine. It linked with the EP and SW at Agua Prieta and Douglas, and with the S.P. at Nogales. Before long Cananea had a population of some 15,000, and the coffers of the customs agent in Naco were ever present targets for the Mexican revolutionary forces.

During the "noble experiment" of prohibition which followed World War I, soldiers from Fort Huachuca had to go to Mexico to get liquor. There were smugglers operating from Mexico, to be sure, but as the traffic was illicit and the threat of punishment imminent, many of the hard-nosed old cavalymen chose to do their drinking across the line. This burdensome condition lasted for some 15 years, from 1918 until the repeal of the Volstead Act in 1933.

Generally, these pilgrimages across the line resulted in nothing more than a well earned hangover. Occasionally, tragedy ensued, as in the case of the old soldier who went to Naco to celebrate his final hitch in the army.

He had served 28 years in the 10th Cavalry and needed one last tour to go out on 30. He was mustered out at Huachuca and paid off with a stack of crisp, new greenbacks. He would "re-up" in the morning, but tonight was his, as a civilian, and he decided to celebrate in Naco with some of his buddies. They would hit every cantina along the main stem, and wander off into the side streets to drink at the frowsy little bars where chickens and goats walked in and out with the patrons. There amidst the acrid fumes of tequila and twang of guitars, the soldiers could swap lies and dream dreams of a bright future. And they did. It was a festive evening, filled with reminiscence and laughter as the night wore on.

Finally, it was time to get on back to Fort Huachuca. The old soldier had a date with the reenlistment sergeant in the morning, and he would be on time. The revelers hailed a cab and piled in. For some reason the driver made only a momentary stop at the customs house on the U.S. side and drove on.

"Halt!" shouted the agent. The driver, perhaps thinking of the fat fee for taking a carload al the way to Huachuca or off in some dream sequence of his own, continued on. A shot rang out. The soft-nosed slug hit the old soldier in the elbow of the left arm, rendering it useless forever.

The old soldier lost all the way around. Not only was his arm crippled for life; because of it, he was denied reenlistment. Worse, since he was a civilian, between hitches, he couldn't retire on pension. Never was foray into the flesh pots more costly. No one knows what became of the old soldier. It is said that they do not die but simply "fade away." Perhaps he did, but when death finally took him, chances are he succumbed to a broken heart as well as a broken body.

Yes, Naco may be sleepy now, but the old pueblo has had its share of action. The tinny sound of federal and rebel bugles is forever silent, and bullets no longer pepper the old bulletproof hotel. Whispering sands dance along deserted streets, drift around crumbling adobes and settle in the rifle pits of 1929. Still, the old gal limps along, a little blowzy and a little tired, but with an insouciant air available only to one who has tasted the well-springs of life.

Tired or not, Naco still is a known, familiar place. People live there, and there is no air of mystery about Naco. The Huachuca Mountains are different. They are tall, dark, brooding, filled with strange and terrifying sounds when cloudbursts roar down the canyons, and silent hosts to the apparitions of forgotten times. The Spaniards mined them, and now and then some hiker comes upon a crude shaft sunk by some gaunt and bearded gold-seeker of the 1600's. Apaches used the narrow canyons for hideaways, and desperadoes hid themselves in the dark caverns.

Why are people fascinated with caves? Not all are, of course, and those inflicted with claustrophobia won't go near one, lest airlessness and velvety darkness do them in altogether. Yet, most people have a curious fascination with these yawning holes leading off to the bowels of the earth. Is it beauty? Well, some are resplendant with patches and streaks of golds, yellows, reds and blues, and some display the subtle tones of amber, purple and pink. Some are weird labyrinths of twisting stalactites straining to touch fingers with the growing stalagmites below.

Some house ancient cultures, and others yield up silver and gold. In the limestone caves of France and Spain there are paintings of ice-age animals which would do credit to any artist in any age. In the caves of the American southwest, men have found bows and arrows, sandals, beads, household trinkets and scraps of meals served to hungry hunters thousands of years ago. Mostly, the caves contain nothing but bats, scorpions, and labyrinthine passages, yet people explore them in search of fantasy and treasure.

The Huachuca Mountains are mountains of mystery, never more convincing than in summer when thunder reverberates down the narrow canyons and water races for the lowlands in torrents. Miners have pitted its surface with shafts, and smugglers have hidden in sequestered vales. Soldiers of Fort Huachuca have scrambled through its canyons and the ghosts of conquistadores stalk its peaks and valleys.

Little is known, though, about the many unexplored caves that honeycomb the Huachucas. On the west side of the range, for example, is Cave Canyon wherein there are no less than 18 man-size caverns. None are easy to get to and, because of their isolation, retain an air of mystery and fascination. In the foothills near the post's west gate is Pyeatt Cave, a rather fearsome and legendary place. Lying only some few hundred yards from the west gate sentry box, the cave has never been fully explored. Some "spelunkers"² have

gone in for a distance of three miles, and some of them claim that the passages and rooms may wander off for 50 miles or more in a seemingly endless string of eerie caverns. No one knows.

Few who probe this awesome place will venture more than a few yards into the forbidding darkness. Great fissures yawn into seemingly bottomless pits, totally gloomy and as black as ink. Stones tossed over the brink may be heard bouncing from ledge to ledge, or they may be swallowed in chilling silence. In some places the sound of rushing water is heard indicating an underground river, a hollow and melancholy sound echoing down the dark walls of this fantastic underground world. In recent times young soldiers from Fort Huachuca have outfitted themselves with carbide lamps, flashlights, food and water, and great coils of nylon parachute cord and made deep penetrations into Pyeatt Cave.³ The reports are ever the same - endless corridors, tunnels, caverns, and "dropping-off" places, in a cave which has no ending.

There are tales that Geronimo knew of Pyeatt's Cave back in the 1870's and 80's and used it to elude pursuit by troopers hot on his trail. Once, according to legend, he was chased right into the mouth of the cave, he and his men disappearing into its hallways. Weeks later he was seen again in Mexico, many miles south of the border, lending credence to the belief that the Apache knew of an exit on the south side of the range. Men seeking to locate such an egress have failed; they say that the great earthquake of 1887 probably sealed it off. Who knows?

Back in 1908 the 8th Cavalry was stationed at Huachuca. One Sunday two troopers mounted up and rode off to explore Pyeatt's Cave. Tying their horses to mesquite trees near the entrance, they went into the cave with candles, matches, chalk and string. The bright morning sun gave way to the lengthening shadows of afternoon, and the horses nickered softly as darkness enveloped the land.

On the following morning the horses were discovered and led back to the stables on post. A searching party was formed and set about rescuing the adventurous troopers. They were never found. Suspecting desertion, the post commander made thorough checks of the places from whence they came, quizzing family, friends and acquaintances of former times, but to no avail. The men had simply vanished from the earth - or into it.

Some day a spelunker will descend by rope and piton into the yawning maw of one of Pyeatt's deep caverns. There, at the bottom,

he may find two skeletons encased in shredded flannel shirts and wearing hats bearing the crossed saber insignia of the 8th U.S. Cavalry.

The lonely canyons and deep caves of the Huachucas played important roles for smugglers during the 1920's. The story of Lon Parker serves to illustrate the dangers faced by intrepid minions of the law in that time and place.

Back in prohibition days "rum-running" was a business in and around Fort Huachuca. If Mr. Andrew Joseph Volstead wanted to exert his puritan compulsion upon American citizens in the more settled communities, fine; the soldiers of Huachuca were too close to the Mexican border to be bothered much by this restrictive legislation and were participants in a brisk trade in whiskey and other alcoholic delights coming into camp from south of the border. Traffic in booze was constant but particularly heavy around payday. Then, Mexican smugglers and other outlaws would meet with agents at appointed places with loads of bourbon, rye, rum and tequila to be traded for good old yankee dollars.

Consequently, the federal government put customs men into the area in 1923 to intercept the illicit trade and apprehend those who broke the law. Two such men were Lon Parker and Albert Gatlin, both sons of pioneer families and as conversant with the rough borderlands as anyone alive. Based in Nogales, they worked the international line as far east as Naco and Agua Prieta. By car, on horseback, and on shank's mare these two patrolled the area, moving with the quiet grace of panthers through the draws and steep canyons of the ghostly Huachucas. Fluent in Spanish, they were feared by Mexican smugglers as well as by American agents.

One Sunday in 1926, some local ranchers held a picnic near Pyeatt's Lake, a short distance from the fort's west gate. Riding to join the party, John Merritt took a short cut down Lyle Canyon and came upon fresh tracks leading in the general direction of Fort Huachuca. He was baffled by the sign; there were too few hoof-prints for a detachment of cavalry, and the tracks were too regular for a cowpuncher's remuda. He suspected smugglers and rode off to fetch Lon Parker.

Lon and Merritt rode back to the site of the tracks but without Gatlin who was laid up. Lon brought along his hound dog, "Bugle," a courageous animal who could track man or beast. Arriving at the site, Lon told Merritt to go home. Smugglers were a desperate lot, quick on the trigger, and quite capable of gunning down an informer as an

object lesson to others. So Lon went on alone, "Bugle" trotting along behind.

As he proceeded up the canyon, he realized that he was gaining on his quarry. The tracks were deeper and easier to read, and the branches snapped off in passing lay in telltale evidence along the trail. Familiar with the area, Lon sought to cut off the smugglers by climbing to a steep ridge on his north side. From its spine he could see the country for miles around. Gaining his objective, he swept the lower levels with trained eyes, and, sure enough, below him was a man leading a pack horse loaded with contraband.

Silently Lon made his way down the hill and confronted the surprised smuggler. It was a fatal error. Undetected, the pursued was pursuing the pursuer. Off in the brush a second smuggler was riding flank and drew a bead on the unsuspecting customs man. A shot rang out, and a soft-nosed Winchester slug hit Lon squarely in the back, ploughed through yielding flesh and burst from his innards inches below his belt-line.

The normal man would drop to the ground, moan and die. Lon was not a normal man. In excruciating pain and with his vision clouding, he still had sufficient strength to get off four shots. The first split the skull of the smuggler like a ripe melon. Shots two and three hit the poor horse, who went down in a heap. Shot four was fired at the second smuggler but missed him as he lurched into the bushes.

Prospector Tom Wills had a shack up the canyon and Lon headed for it, slumped forward, his life's blood drenching saddle and mount. Lon's horse gingerly picked its way over boulders and debris for two tortuous miles of mountain trail. There lay the cabin and help, but fate had one more hand to play. Wills was away, and the cabin was as silent as the grave.

Lon fell from his horse and began to crawl toward the shack on his hands and knees. Half way up the path he collapsed and breathed his last. When hunters found him, days later, he was attended by two loyal friends. "Bugle" was curled beside the body in eloquent canine sorrow, and standing above him, motionless, with reins down was his horse.



10th Cavalry review, 1921.

CHAPTER 22

BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

In the 23-year period between the two world wars, 1918-1941, two regiments served at Fort Huachuca.¹ As mentioned earlier, the 10th Cavalry had come to the post in December 1913; it would remain until 1931 when it would be fragmented for service at other Army posts. In 1931 Headquarters Troop and the 1st Squadron were sent to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The 2d Squadron was transferred for duty at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, and the Machine Gun Group went to Fort Myer, Virginia. On July 1, 1939, F Troop at West Point switched places with the machine gunners at Myer, both outfits remaining in their new locations until February 1, 1941. At that time the entire regiment was reassembled at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. In 1942 Colonel Waldemar A. Flack took the regiment to the Cavalry Training Center (Armored) at Camp Lockett, California.

During World War II, on shipboard off the North African coast, the proud old regiment was disbanded on March 10, 1944, and its personnel transferred to other wartime units.

In March 1928, the 3rd Battalion and Headquarters and Service Company, 25th U.S. Infantry, came to Fort Huachuca. Almost five years later, in January 1933, the 2d Battalion and H and S Companies of the regiment moved to Fort Huachuca from Camp Stephen D. Little. Simultaneously, the 1st Battalion and its H and S Companies moved from Camp Harry J. Jones in Douglas to Fort Huachuca. The 1st Battalion's stay at Huachuca as an organized unit was brief. On January 6, 1933, it was deactivated and its personnel transferred to other organizations within the regiment. The arrival of these battalions from Little and Jones brought about the concentration of the entire regiment for permanent station for the first time since December 1922.

In the late 1920's and early 30's, both regiments performed patrol duty along the Mexican border, and after 1933 troops of the 25th Infantry trained reserve officers of the 206th Infantry Brigade. That



"Regimental Day," Fort Huachuca, 1920. A day given over to track and field competition, equestrian events, baseball games and other competitive contests.

was a unit composed of the 409th and 410th Infantry Organized Reserve in Arizona. Also training in Arizona at that time were young men assigned to the Citizen's Military Training Camps, C.M.T.C. In the flatlands just north of post and Huachuca City, there are remnants of these citizens camps. Whitewashed boulders neatly arranged to denote company areas and streets stretch out across the desert floor, mute testimony to that noble experiment of long ago.

Still, in this hiatus between wars there really was not much to do, and so the soldiers played games, all sorts of games: polo, baseball, football, track and field, boxing, shooting and just about every kind of athletic endeavor where one man might compete against another. The "year books" of these regiments dwell at some length on the mighty victories won by proud soldiers over their brothers-in-arms.

Thus we find a revival of polo at Huachuca by the 10th Cavalry in 1920, with the arrival of a shipment of fine ponies from Fort Bliss. The 10th walloped the 1st Cavalry in two 8th Corps area playoff games by the respectable scores of 12 - 1 and 9 - 4. Injuries plagued the team, however. Captain L. G. Heffernan had his shin laid open by a mallet in a practice game at Douglas. Major Robenson suffered a brain concussion in a head-on collision with teammate Lieutenant H. S. Stanton. Not satisfied with that unfortunate crackup, Stanton resumed play and wrenched his back so painfully that he could henceforth play only by standing erect in his stirrups. Moreover, two of the new ponies from Bliss were sorely laid up.

In this battered condition the injury-ridden 10th went on to Fort Bliss to take on the 7th Cavalry. It was a disaster, the 7th shellacking their caved-in visitors 29 - 1 and 15 - 2. Nonetheless, the brave men of Huachuca did not return to post empty handed. In a consolation round they beat the 8th Cavalry 6 - 2.

Attesting to the expertise possessed by 10th Cavalry troopers were contests in "two horse work," "three horse work," and "Roman riding," wherein a man rode four horses at once, spreadeagling his legs to the outer animals and tearing down the parade ground at full tilt.

In track and field meets the times and distances chalked up by 25th Infantry runners and jumpers are not much by today's standards. Still, they were quite respectable for untrained athletes back in 1932. Private Booker T. Hurd and Manuel Jackson ran the 100 and 220 yard dashes in excellent time, Jackson running the 220

in 22.1, and Hurd doing the 100 in 10 seconds flat.² Private Johnnie Lane cleared the bar at five feet, five inches,³ somewhat shy of Dwight Stone's current high altitude mark of seven feet, seven inches. Private William Oliver leaped 19 feet, four inches,⁴ and probably would not have believed that one day a black youngster, Bob Beamon, would sail out for a prodigious distance of 29 feet, two inches in the Olympic Games in Mexico City. Private Silas Anderson heaved the 16-pound shot 35 feet, nine inches,⁵ never dreaming that a burly young giant would throw the iron ball more than twice that distance 40 years later.

Intramural baseball games were played between companies, and games were scheduled between "old" and "young" soldiers, the criterion being more or less than 12 years of service in the regiment.

In rifle marksmanship the regiment fared extremely well; only one man in the regiment failed to qualify, making that poor unfortunate something of a pariah. Company E took top honors in 1933, averaging 300.86 per man in marksmanship qualification, its men going on to capture the National Rifle Association Corps area title.⁶ In this match Private Leon Washington shot a respectable 32. For good measure the men of E Company walked away with the regimental baseball championship.

With justifiable pride, Sergeant Rance Richardson, E Company, wrote: We are very proud of having won the regimental basketball and baseball championships. It was a very hard hill to pull, but we Tigers never gave up. That is the spirit we have in games as well as in soldiering. We have won 21 consecutive basketball games. Here is the question that have come to hand. How do we do this? Let me explain. We did it with that old spirit of 100 percent. Together we stand, divided we fall. We are one big happy family.⁷

It is difficult to see how anyone might improve upon Richardson's enthusiasm and sanguine philosophy. All U.S. regiments have standards or guidons, mottoes, crests and other distinguishing characteristics. It simply is a way to proclaim identity, and military organizations have displayed such trappings since the time of Caesar's Roman legions. Not all regiments have their own songs or descriptive poems, however. The 25th Infantry had one at Huachuca; its simplistic and heartfelt address, are, it is felt, worthy of inclusion in these pages.

TWENTY-FIFTH INFANTRY

We're the hiking fighting Twenty-Fifth
 Of the good old U.S.A.
 And we'll sing a song as we hike along
 And the band begins to play.
 See our Colors waving in the breeze
 Their friendly message seems to say
 ONWARD good old Twenty-Fifth
 You're the pride of the U.S.A.

Oh, we'll fight, fight, fight, for the Twenty-Fifth
 With a song in our hearts as we go,
 And we'll yell like hell for the Twenty-Fifth
 When we meet a worthy foe.
 Let us drink, drink, drink, to the Twenty-Fifth
 For the whole wide world to see,
 The doughboys yell is FOLLOW ME,
 Its the song of the Infantry.

Oh, its hike, hike, hike, down the dusty road
 With a pack on your back as you go,
 Oh, its great to be in the Infantry
 As forward the bugles blow.
 With a smile all the while as we sing a song
 For we march to victory,
 Again let us shout out FOLLOW ME,
 Its the song of the Infantry.

On May 5, 1920, journalistic history of sorts was made at Fort Huachuca with the creation of a newspaper entitled "Buffalo Bulletin." First issued as a five-page mimeographed news sheet, it soon became a 12-page weekly with an attractive artistic cover. Circulation jumped from 100 copies, or so, to over 1,200, with a mailing list of some 250. The paper had a short life, one year and seven days to be exact, going out of business on May 12, 1921. Army regulations caught up with the popular sheet when it was found that it carried paid advertising. The soldier publishers agreed that advertising was necessary to cover the costs of cuts, photos and paper. The army was adamant. Other papers appeared at Huachuca



Color guard, 25th U.S. Infantry, Fort Huachuca, 1933, left to right: Pvt. William Murchison, F Company 25th Infantry; Sgt. Victor Motaun, E Company; Sgt. William M. Dean, K Company; PFC. John E. Watson, F Company.

later on, notably the Apache Sentinel and the Scout. By then rules changes made civilian advertising permissible.

During the 1920's, the influence of pacificism was taking hold. An increasing number of Americans seemed to be expressing the conviction that war as an instrument of national policy was wrong. The sure way to make certain that America would not be dragged into armed conflict again would be to dismantle our military establishments and disband the services. Or so the argument went.

Convinced that the army would be reduced in size, the War Department conducted a study to prepare for such an eventuality. In March 1924, Colonel James Cooper Rhea, Post Commander at Huachuca, was directed to estimate the salable value of the post. Rhea estimated that buildings were worth \$50,000, installations \$25,000, and land and water systems about \$250,000. All of this added to a net worth of \$325,000, far less than the present-day replacement cost for any of the post's larger structures. Wisely, the army deactivated Fort Apache instead, transferring it to the Indian Service. Fort Huachuca was retained as the only active Army post in Arizona.

In the late 1930's there was some construction at Fort Huachuca. Ground for the "Million Dollar Barracks" was broken on July 11, 1939, with Chaplain (Colonel) Louis A. Carter, 25th Infantry, turning the first shovel full of earth.⁸ The expensive housing unit was under construction throughout the winter of 1938. NCO's quarters were erected on Hines Road from stone quarried in the creek bed in Huachuca Canyon. The W.P.A. built a reservoir about 100 yards east of the original reservoir atop Reservoir Hill. Some ordnance shops were built and several, new, deep water wells were drilled in an effort to ease the water scarcity problem.

It was in 1938 that Carol Clarke, a civilian employee in the Post Engineer's office, saw Indian scout Jim Lane shoot a black soldier to death.

...The prisoner was escaping from the guard house. He was stark naked and ran from the guard house across the street and into the field behind Mar Kim's restaurant. Jim Lane saw the fleeing prisoner, just raised his gun and shot him dead.⁹

Mrs. Clark rose to the defense of the Indian scouts upon this and other occasions.

...With reference to the complaint that the scouts were dirty and that few would associate with them, I

never understood how anyone who took as many baths as they did should be considered unclean. They were always taking purification baths for something. Their huts had elaborate shower baths rigged up in rear of the buildings. I often sat next to scouts in the post theater. They never offended me. One scout called "Easy Money" got his name because he was always asking someone for money.¹⁰

The Indian scouts were one of the truly unique institutions in the history of Fort Huachuca. Let us now inspect that colorful and remarkable body of men.

THE MARVELOUS INDIAN SCOUTS

On October 4, 1922, President Warren G. Harding signed an executive order characterizing Fort Apache as "useless for military purposes" and placing the establishment under the Department of the Interior. There was a detachment of Apache Indian scouts there, under the command of Capt. James T. Duke, 10th Cavalry. The army was not yet ready to disband the Indian scouts, and they had to go somewhere. Accordingly, Fort Huachuca was selected as the new home station for the Indian scouts, and Duke's company was moved there. All quartermaster records and personnel files were sent to Fort Bliss in December of 1922 and January 1923.

Indian scouts had long illustrious service in Arizona during the Apache Wars and at Fort Huachuca in the organization's declining years. It is proper, before telling the story of the Indian scouts at Huachuca, to consider the origins and history of this remarkable organization.

Due to the extraordinary amount of publicity and recognition given to the Apache scouts both during and after the Indian Wars of the 1870's and 80's, many people have the erroneous impression that Apache Indians were unique in their use as scouts for the military. Demonstrably, the Apaches were the best Indian scouts, measured in terms of their special employment and over a long period of time. Still, they were not the first.

The use of Indians as scouts was not new as the post-Civil War era dawned. English, French and Spanish captains had used such tribes as Mohawks, Iroquois, Seneca and Seminoles during colonial times and quite successfully too. Apaches were used as scouts and guides by the Spanish in the 1700's. In 1786 Chiricahua Apaches were employed by Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, Commandante de las Provincias Internas in New Spain. Astute American officers enlisted the aid of Indians in the Great Plains region in the days immediately following the Civil War: Arapahos, Bannocks, Pawnees, Shoshones, Sioux, Kiowas, Comanches and Cherokees. In the southwest Navajos were



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

A Company, Apache scouts, photo taken at Fort Apache, October, 1880. Man with wide-brimmed hat is Lt. Charles B. Gatewood. Directly behind him is Chief of Scouts Sam Bowman. Signal Corps photo 88220.

employed as well as Apaches and, in a few instances, Pimas, Papagoes and even Yaquis.

The difference between the use of those tribes mentioned above and the Apaches was one of organization. By and large, early use of Indians was left up to the discretion of department or field commanders, with regulations and remuneration being at the discretion of individual commanders. The act of August 1866, established the framework for the establishment of an Indian scout program and specified numbers, pay and emoluments.

On August 1, 1866, a congressional act authorized the president "to enlist and employ in the territories and Indian country a force of Indians, not to exceed 1000, to act as scouts, who shall receive the pay allowances of cavalry soldiers, and be discharged whenever the necessity for their further employment is abated, or at the discretion of the department commander."¹

In the beginning the army limited the number of Indian scouts to 300, feeling that the program was experimental and that the 700 additional openings could profitably be used by white or black soldiers. This was not permitted. An army circular of 1890 stated: "the mustering of farriers or blacksmiths on the rolls of Indian scouts, is, in the absence of legislation authorizing appointment thereof, illegal."² The ranks of Indian scouts were filled out as the needs arose.

That the performance of duty by Indian scouts was exemplary may be seen in the statements made by the officers who employed them. Wrote Major General Henry Wager Halleck from California in 1867:

I respectfully call attention to the use of Indian scouts. The law authorized the employment of 1,000, but of this number only 200 were allotted to this division...as guides and scouts, they are almost indispensable...we could employ at least 1,000 on this coast with advantage and economy.³

Major General Frederick Steele wrote from Oregon in 1867:

The Indian scouts have done most valuable service. They cheerfully lead the way into the middle of their enemies and in the late expeditions have done most of the fighting and killing...They are useful as guides and spies, and in destroying the spies of the enemy. It is my opinion that 100, in addition to those now

employed, would exterminate the hostile bands before next spring....⁴

These testimonials are not singular. Through the years, many well-known officers of the United States Army, including Crook, Bourke, Gatewood, Lawton, Wood, Chaffee, and others would add their own special kudos to the Indian scouts who served them so admirably.

Scouts might enlist for periods of three, six or 12 months, and many, finding it a rewarding sort of life, reenlisted time after time, running up service records like "Chow Big" who served for 30 years, and Deklay who served for 34. Under a War Department general order, scouts enlisting for periods not exceeding six months were expected to furnish their own horses and equipment and for this were paid the princely sum of 40 cents per day.⁵ Wrote Lt. Col. J. F. Wade on May 17, 1886: "I request authority to pay 15 Indians mounted pay, that is 40 cents a day for use of horse. They to furnish these horses and be always ready for mounted duty. This will, I think, add to the efficiency of the scouts and can be used as a reward for the best men."⁶ Another order provided medical care for scouts on the same basis as that given regular army soldiers.⁷

An army circular of 1887 forbade the inclusion of Indian scouts in the list of meritorious achievements for any post or department, while permitting scouts to earn and be awarded marksmen's certificates and insignia.⁸ The merit citation gag rule was nothing more than a paper exercise, however. Over the years, many Indian scouts were awarded the Medal of Honor for gallantry in combat, above and beyond the call of duty.⁹

An army circular of August 1890 specified the uniform for Indian scouts, going into considerable detail to list and specify such things as hat cords, hat ornament, trumpet cord and so on, in addition to the basic items of trousers, coat, etc.¹⁰ Actually, the scouts, while nominally dressed as enlisted U.S. Army soldiers, wore pretty much what they wanted to wear. Hence, one sees the many colorful photos of scouts in the 70's and 80's with the scouts decked out in tunic, breech clout, deerskin boots, headband and crossed bandoliers. Later on in the 1890's, the scouts, or at least many of them, did wear black fatigue hats, prescribed NCO chevrons, and a dress uniform similar to that of cavalymen except that the facings were white and scarlet instead of yellow. As crossed sabers and crossed rifles were the insignia of the cavalry and infantry branches of the army, crossed arrows became the insignia of the Indian scouts.

The scout guidon was prescribed: "...cut square, three feet, five inches fly, and two feet, three inches on the lance, made of scarlet silk trimmed with white silk fringe...in the center, and on both sides, two crossed arrows...in the upper intersection the words, in semi-circle, U.S. Scouts.¹¹ Photos of the guidon are rare. Also, artists like Remington and Schreyvogel almost always depicted the cavalry guidons in their stirring paintings of frontier army life.

Army regulations directed that, whenever an Indian scout was enlisted, his full Indian name and "the English interpretation of same" would appear on the enlistment papers and in all subsequent returns and reports concerning them.¹² Faced with names like Eskehnadestah and Askeldelinney, Gen. Crook initiated a numbering system for scouts to ensure identity and facilitate authentic transmission of names.¹³ While this did nothing to boost the ego of the man with the unpronounceable name, it certainly proved advantageous to adjutants and telegraph operators.

Scouts normally used the same weapons as the enlisted men, colorfully augmenting these upon occasion with lance, bow and arrow. They received very little in the way of military training, as it was recognized that their very lifestyle was in itself a soldier's existence. They never engaged in mounted drills or routine garrison duties, never mounted or dismounted in unison, or learned to distinguish between the series of bugle calls the soldiers seemed to live by. In the field as in the garrison, they generally ate in small groups, aside and apart from their soldier companions, preparing food in their own way, and conversing, if at all, in low tones. Discipline, as such, meant little or nothing to them, but they had their own disciplinary code which embraced full and exhaustive performance of duty as a soldier and an exact mode of behaviour before each other.

An attempt was made in 1891 to integrate Apaches into the army as soldiers. It failed. Enlistees found that the army had no time for the observance of Indian ways and that their cultural ties were breaking. The experiment was discontinued prior to the turn of the century.

When Brig. Gen. Crook assumed command of the Department of Arizona in 1871, he was for a time undecided as to whom he should use for scouts. Governor A. P. K. Safford suggested that Crook use Mexicans, offering the opinion that they were best suited to run down renegade Apaches. Crook tried Mexicans but was not satisfied with the results. He turned to Apaches. It might prove disastrous he

was warned, since previous use of Indian scouts was Indians of one tribe hunting down the Indians of another, as Crow against Sioux, Pawnee against Kiowa, and so on. In this case it would pit Apache against Apache. In many cases this proved to put as adversaries not only men of the same general area or tribe, but numbers of the same clan.

It worked. Scouts knew every trail, every water hole, every hideout in the vast labyrinth of mountains crisscrossing the southwest. Who better to employ as trackers than those who might keep the quarry on the move, without respite, without let up, without peace?

On returning to Arizona in 1882, Gen. Crook established Companies A, B, C, D and E of Indian scouts. Each company had a first sergeant, two corporals, and 26 privates. A white officer was normally in command of a company, as Lt. Charles Bachr Gatewood for A Company, at Fort Apache, and Lt. Britton Davis for B Company at San Carlos. Capt. Emmett Crawford commanded several companies at once. Second in command to the company officers, civilian chiefs of scouts like Al Sieber, Dan O'Leary, Tom Horn, Archie McIntosh and Mason McCoy did yeoman's work in the field.

By the time of the Geronimo Campaign, the Apache scouts had proved so successful that young officers vied for assignments with Indians in the field. Wrote Second Lt. Robert D. Walsh to Capt. C. S. Roberts in April 1886: "I have the honor to request that in case another expedition enters Mexico in pursuit of the hostile Indians and I be detailed in charge of a company of Indian scouts..."¹⁴ There were numerous petitions of similar nature.

Perhaps playing the role of prima donnas now that they were in demand, some Apaches were dragging their feet before enlisting to serve Gen. Miles. Lieutenant Samson L. Faison wired Miles: "Indians want tonight to think over your latest proposition. Will get a definite answer tomorrow. Thirty will probably enlist."¹⁵ This is interesting because the records show that Miles didn't think much of the scouts, and said so on numerous occasions.

Sometimes the scouts were temporarily without officer or chief of scouts. That created problems, quite possibly where none existed, but problems nonetheless. Major Mills wrote from Fort Thomas to Capt. William Thompson in some agitation and with words heavily underscored: "It is absolutely necessary that an officer be in charge of the 25 new scouts to keep them from wandering about the town



Indian Agent John P. Clum, San Carlos Agency, with group of Apaches. Photo taken sometime in 1870's.

of Maxey. Mr. Collins says that the citizens there threaten to kill them if they are not kept away."¹⁶ To the scant population of Maxey, one or two Apaches mounted and armed was bad enough; 25 Apaches so outfitted was beyond the pale, "enlisted soldier" or not.

Over in New Mexico, Captain Benjamin H. Rogers, 13th Infantry, was doing a little better with his Navajo scouts.

...I report my arrival this date at Alma, N.M., as per instructions with company of Navajo Indian scouts, consisting of one officer and 50 mounted Indians, one interpreter, two packers, and 10 packs...The Navajos as scouts are doing well, and I am satisfied that if the opportunity offers, they will make a good record.¹⁷

Lt. Col. James F. Wade had a problem at Fort Apache, and addressed Gen. Miles on the subject of back pay for his Indian scouts.

...I have asked Capt. Thompson when the paymaster may be expected here but get no reply. The discharged scouts have now waited a month for their pay. They really need this money for their families, and none of them can see why having the money due them, it is not paid. All Indians here are well-disposed, and working, the delay in pay being the only complaint they make. The delay would be a small matter to some people, but the Indians do not understand it. If long continued, it may become a serious grievance....I hear reports among the citizens hereabouts that the scouts are not paid because military authorities do not trust them. If these reports get to the Indians, it may cause trouble....¹⁸

To say the least, the rumor was of course false, and the army had no intention of not paying the scouts for their services. Still, if it should get back to them, anything might happen. The paymaster did arrive at Fort Apache and the men were paid, long after they should have been paid and too late to do anything else than pay old bills.

Gen. Crook was extremely cautious to see to it that all hands treat the Indian scouts with dignity and respect. He was careful also to ascertain that the scouts be used as auxiliaries rather than shock troops. He need not have worried about that, since it was the most natural thing in the world for the scouts to mix in once the fighting had started. The statistics in this regard are overwhelming, and have been given in another portion of this study.

As mentioned earlier, the Apache scouts were not trained to comport themselves as soldiers in the usual sense. The only directions given to them involved tracking down adversaries and assistance in the movement of friendly troops. On the march small groups of three or four were sent out several miles in advance of the main column and on either side as flankers. At night all, save one or two posted as lookouts, would join the main body.

To an Apache the ultimate disgrace, except for cowardice or defeat, was to be surprised, and the scouts based all of their movements on that principle. They approached possible enemy positions stealthily, using cover and concealment as an animal uses it. In a fight they avoided head-on confrontations, charges and yelling. They did not have the concept of valor which holds that a man must keep fighting against insuperable odds. Instead, the scouts always sought to maneuver for advantageous position and force the enemy to exercise chauvinism if he cared to. Apaches would retreat rather than expose themselves to gunfire, but they would play the waiting game, waiting in ambush for pursuers in the least expected and most inaccessible places. They could and did fight, but only on their own terms. Better, from the army point of view, was the fact that they could track their own people tirelessly, finding them in places where it seemed no human might venture.

Crook understood the Apache scouts better than anyone and acted so as to use them properly. In return they served him well. In characteristic honesty he wrote:

The first principle is to show them that we trust them. We have to depend upon their fidelity, and they are quick to note any lack of confidence. They understand thoroughly what is expected of them, and know best how to do their work...Their best quality is their individuality, and as soon as this is destroyed or impaired, their efficiency goes with it.¹⁹

One wonders why Apaches would turn against their own, albeit the pursued were villains and desperadoes of the worst sort. Several answers present themselves: intra-tribal jealousy and personality conflicts, pay and status as U.S. Army enlistees, steady employment, and so on. Perhaps the most compelling reason of all was the personality of Gen. Crook. In a peculiar, almost mystical way he was able to relate to Apaches and empathize with them like no other soldier could.

Trust was the keynote; Crook trusted the Apache scouts, and they trusted him. Surely they could have killed Crook on more than one occasion but never moved to harm him. In the great expedition into the Sierra Madres in 1883, Crook took some 40 white officers into Mexico and 193 Indian scouts, an advantage of almost 5 to 1 in the Indian favor had they elected to kill the whites. True to the general's expectations, the scouts turned their attention not upon the handful of superior officers marching with them but upon renegade Apaches. The operation was eminently successful.

The truth of the matter is that the scouts, not the soldiers, made the expedition successful. It was Emmett Crawford's four companies of scouts who beat the hostiles in Mexico on January 10, 1886. In June 1885, it had been Crawford's scouts who had killed and captured hostiles near Oputo, and Wirt Davis' scouts who had done similar work in the vicinity of Nacori. As a matter of fact, the "score-card" of the scouts during the Apache Wars remains impressive. Between 1873 and 1886, Apache scouts killed over 570 hostiles and captured more than 600. Regular army units operating in Arizona, New Mexico, and Mexico killed just over 110 Indians and captured about 125. The record speaks for itself.

Interestingly, Miles did not trust the Apache scouts and at first used Pimas, Yumas and Papagoes in their place. Also, he relied upon specially selected white officers and troopers to subdue Geronimo. They did in the end, but only after weary months of arduous campaigning against a handful of renegades and the use of Apache scouts anyway.

With the conclusion of the Geronimo campaign, there was little need for the Apache scouts so their numbers were reduced drastically. In 1891 a War Department order limited the number to 150 and changed the organizational designation from company to detachment. For all intents and purposes, the great days of the Indian scouts were over. Still, the organization would live on as an institution for another 56 years, until disbanding on September 30, 1947, in a colorful ceremony at Fort Huachuca.

Much has been written in these pages about the Apache scouts as an institution; let us consider them now as individuals. During the winter campaign of 1872-73, 10 Apache scouts were recommended by Gen. Crook for receipt of the coveted Medal of Honor.²⁰ All 10 received the medal: Sergeant Alchisay, Sergeant Jim, Corporal Elatsoosu, and Privates Machol, Blanquet, Chiquito, Kasoha, Kelsay,

Nannasaddi, and Nantaje. Of these men, Alchisay, a handsome Sierra Blanca Apache, was a most remarkable man. Born in about 1853 on Carrizo Creek in central Arizona, he bore the title of Chief. His uncle, Pedro, was a hereditary Chief of the Sierra Blanca tribe, and both men belonged to the "Red Rock Strata" clan. Alchisay's cousins, Molly and Cora, became the wives of the well known Army scout Corydon Eliphalet Cooley. Alchisay was present at the March 1886 conferences between Crook and Geronimo at Canyon de los Embudos and was called upon by Crook for remarks concerning the surrender. A thoughtful, soft-spoken individual, he was well thought of by white man and Indian alike.

He was not always of quiet manner. Once, during a tulapai spree near Show Low he got into a drunken brawl over a game of monte with a friend.²¹ The two began swinging at one another, punching, kicking and tearing out hair by the handful. Soon the scrap erupted into a melee with rifle and pistol shots slamming all around. An Indian named Petone was killed and Alchisay was shot. Seriously wounded, he crawled off into the mountains, licking his wounds like a tiger and returning to his people only after he had nursed himself back to health. He did this once again years later in a comparable circumstance. During the great influenza epidemic of 1918-1919, he contracted the disease. Instead of turning in to the reservation hospital at San Carlos, he disappeared into the White Mountains to rest, fast and pray. He recovered, but this time he had some help. A Lutheran missionary found him and nursed him back to health. Rowdy, a member of A Company, Indian scouts, won the medal of Honor in March 1890 in an engagement with Apaches. Rowdy was, as the youngsters of today say, "something else." Although a good and loyal scout, Rowdy had little or no concept of rank and the privileges attending it. He was called as a witness in the trial of Apaches who had killed a man named Herbert near Fort Thomas. The desperadoes had been tracked down by Lt.'s Clarke and Watson of K Troop, 10th Cavalry, after an exhaustive chase of more than 200 miles. Rowdy was one of K Troop's scouts and certainly was instrumental in running down the fighters.

At the trial, he "stole the show," however, by describing how he told the officers to position the troops, conduct the fight and comport themselves generally. Interruptions by the judge advocate were futile. Rowdy was center stage, and he intended to make the most of it. He did.



COURTESY NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Alchisay, Chief of White Mountain Apaches, winter 1872-73. Alchisay awarded Medal of Honor for gallant conduct during Apache Campaigns. Signal Corps photo 85773.

Once, while trailing Geronimo with Lt. Britton Davis in the 1885 Sierra Campaign, Rowdy and his companions ran out of provisions and had to kill and eat their horses. Rowdy, certainly as famished as the others, refused. He could not see the justice in killing and eating an animal which had faithfully carried him over some of the worst country in Mexico.

Rowdy was killed in a "hog ranch"²² brawl near Fort Grant. On a drunken spree he decided to take the place apart, but the bartender, a man named Lennon, had other ideas. As Rowdy burst through the swinging doors, with Winchester cocked, Lennon coolly let him have it with a shotgun.

Chato scouted for the Army in the 1880's and was accused by Geronimo of threatening to kill him.²³ The threat may well have been made, as the two were not on good terms. Indeed, Geronimo charged not only Chato, but Lt. Britton Davis and Scout Mickey Free with a plot of murder. Such a plot was never bared or substantiated by any reliable source. The liklihood is that it never occurred, and that Geronimo simply took some angry remark of Chato's out of context. Chato played no favorites. He brought in his own brother's head to authorities and rolled it along the ground at the feet of the astonished officers. The episode prompted a graphic painting by the artist Frederic Remington.

"Dutchy" was another scout who gave long and faithful service to the army in the 80's. He received his nickname from the soldiers who thought he looked like a German. At Nacori on 10 January 1886, Dutchy was the first man to reach the side of Capt. Emmett Crawford, cut down by Mexican rifle fire. Dutchy reportedly killed the man who gunned Crawford down.

The "Apache Kid" was well regarded in Arizona until the unfortunat incident of June 1, 1887.²⁴ He had enlisted on June 23, 1882, in Company A, Indian scouts, and, because of his general adaptability and qualities of leadership, was appointed as first sergeant during his first hitch. He kept the rank during several subsequent reenlistments until receiving a dishonorable discharge in January 1888. The Kid was at Big Dry Wash in July 1882 but did not accompany Crook in the Sierra Madre Campaign of 1883. Brooding over the shooting of his grandfather by an Apache named Rip, the Kid went on a Tizwin spree and got roaring drunk. In the company of several of his inebriated cronies, the Kid found his way to Rip's camp on Aravaipa Creek and shot him dead.

Back at the agency in San Carlos, the Kid was ordered to turn over his weapon and proceed to the guardhouse. He did so, but no sooner than he began walking toward the jail some of his friends opened up with rifles, felling several bystanders and guards. Al Sieber was hit in the foot; the wound left him crippled for life. Sieber always said it was the Apache Kid who shot him, but in the Kid's courts-martial trial Sieber's testimony was vague on this point. Rowdy was present at this fracas, and got off a shot or two at the Kid.

Excited and frightened, the Kid and his companions fled the agency amidst a wild spray of shots. For days the renegades ran throughout the mountains of southeastern Arizona, hard pressed by a pursuit force sent out by Gen. Nelson A. Miles. Exhausted and bewildered, the Kid offered to return to the agency and stand trial, doubtless feeling that his murder of Rip was justified and that the fracas at the guardhouse, while mutinous, caused no one's death.

The Kid was tried by general courts-martial on December 27, 1887. Tried with him were his four companions: Sergeant As-Kisay-La-Ha, Corporal Na-Con-Qui-Say, and Privates Be-Cho-On-Dath and Margy. All were convicted and sentenced to prison terms on Alcatraz Island, San Francisco Bay. The four friends did go to Alcatraz; the Apache Kid did not.

On November 2, 1889, while en route from Globe to Casa Grande by stage coach, the convicted man, in shackles, overpowered Sheriff Glenn Reynolds and Deputy Sheriff William H. (Hunky Dory) Holmes. Reynolds was killed and Holmes died of a heart attack in the excitement.

Thus started the wild and terrible final stages of the one-time good Indian scout's career. He robbed, murdered, pillaged and became the absolute terror of the southwest. So vicious was his life style and so fearful were people of him, that all depredations (unless proven by incontrovertible fact) were charged to him. For a while he traveled in the company of other renegades, but eventually the solitary nature of his psyche asserted itself.

A "loner" at heart, he became one in actuality, except for one thing. He liked women and would steal them, forcing them to flee through the countryside with him. When they faltered or tired, he slit their throats and left them to die by the road. Similarly, horses he stole would eventually tire, throw shoes or go lame. He shot them and stole replacements as the opportunities afforded.

The Apache Kid was never found. In 1924 Lt. John H. Healy, 10th Cavalry, commanded the Apache scouts at Fort Huachuca. One

of his scouts, Joe Adley, claimed to be a nephew of the Apache Kid. Ordinarily, Joe would infer that his infamous uncle had died in Mexico many years ago. In 1924 Sierra Madre Apaches were reported roaming over northern Sonora on a horse-stealing expedition. Healy asked Joe Adley if these were his uncle's people returned to the ways of the outlaw. Said Adley: "Apache Kid, he alive in Mexico." It was possible. Born in about 1857, the Kid would be a spry 67 or so in 1924. No one will ever know.

As mentioned earlier, the original number of 1,000 Indian scouts was reduced to 150 at the conclusion of the Geronimo Campaign. Of that number, about 50 were retained in Arizona Territory, used mainly to patrol the international border but finding employment in running down renegades in Arizona from time to time. An extract from the payroll, Detachment of Indian Scouts, for the period October 1-31 1917, shows that there were still 22 scouts in active service at Fort Apache at that time. All were receiving pay due their individual grades, plus 40 cents per day for horses, and all were allotted from 10 to 39 dollars per month for the second wartime "Liberty Loan." These were the men moved to Fort Huachuca in November 1922.

NAME	FIRST ENLISTED	HIGHEST GRADE	FINAL DISCHARGE	LENGTH SERVICE
EskehnaDestah	May 8, 1893	Msgt.	Mar 8, 1924	31 years
Chow Big	July 7, 1891	Sgt.	Jan 31, 1929	28 years
Josh, C. F.	June 20, 1895	Cpl.	July 6, 1920	25 years
Nonotolth	Jan 15, 1905	Cpl.	May 22, 1925	20 years
Askeldelinney	June 2, 1879	Pvt.	Aug 30, 1923	46 years
Billy, C. F.	Dec 4, 1890	Sgt.	May 22, 1919	29 years
Billy, Jess	Nov 22, 1913	Cpl.	Nov 21, 1941	28 years
Bones, Charley	July 2, 1891	Sgt.	May 31, 1932	41 years
Chissay	Nov 3, 1913	Pvt.	Nov 2, 1920	7 years
Cody, John	Aug 30, 1900	Pvt.	May 14, 1922	22 years
Deklay	June 14, 1885	Pvt.	June 14, 1928	43 years
Eskiphygojo	July 1, 1892	Pvt.	Jan 3, 1929	37 years
Nos Chuky Grasshopper	May 22, 1914	Pvt.	May 15, 1922	8 years
Ka-Gethl	May 22, 1914	Pvt.	June 6, 1922	8 years
Lane, Jim	May 22, 1914	Cpl.	June 30, 1945	31 years
Palmer, Jesse	Jan 3, 1913	Pvt.	Jan 22, 1923	10 years
Pope, George	Aug 12, 1911	Pvt.	Aug 2, 1927	16 years
Pinintiney	Mar 3, 1893	Pvt.	Sept 23, 1924	31 years
Quintero	May 2, 1911	Cpl.	May 31, 1941	30 years
Sye, Thomas	May 11, 1891	Pvt.	June 20, 1929	38 years
Tea Square	Jan 12, 1915	Pvt.	May 16, 1922	7 years
Tehnehjehch	Mar 18, 1892	Pvt.	Feb 21, 1927	35 years

The preceeding list names these individuals, giving original enlistment dates and times of final discharge. The length of service figures are almost completely authentic, rendered false in several cases where the scouts had "broken time" by a series of enlistments, discharges and reenlistments over long periods of time.

Scouts were generally enlisted under a phonetic spelling of their names, or given nicknames. Also, each was given a number, which on official papers frequently served better to identify the man than his own fractured name grossly misspelled by some ignorant clerk. Thus, Eskehnadestah became A-64; Chow Big was T-5; Kelsay, Y-32; Da-Gethl, Y-2, and so on.

Obviously, no one but an Apache could handle the name Eskehnadestah, so he was christened "Chicken." Chicken put in more than 30 years as a scout and was liked and respected by all hands, the one exception being Col. George B. Rodney, who wrote: "Chicken was a morose, bad-tempered fellow addicted to liquor. When he got a drink he was prone to run amok."²⁵

Chow Big's official name was Big Chow, a sobriquet undoubtedly earned by his proficiency at putting away outsize helpings at mess call. It is not known how or why his name got turned around. He and Scout Nonotolth were brothers, and both were excellent hunters.

Josh was explosive and quick on the trigger. In 1890 an Apache named Josh was with Lt. Watson in pursuit of the Apache Kid in the San Carlos region. In a skirmish with the Kid, Watson's men killed two of his followers, Hale and Pash-Ten-Tah. Josh cut off the latter's head and carried it back to San Carlos over the rump of his pony to identify it to the command there. Whether or not this was the Josh the Indian scout is uncertain. Josh the scout did not enlist until June 1895, some five years after the grisly incident mentioned above. Still, the time frame, area, and general occupation are similar; it is fair to assume that the Josh who pursued the Apache Kid was the same one who killed his friend Shorten Bread on November 2, 1913, near Fort Huachuca.²⁶ The two men, with Shorten Bread's wife, went on a hunting trip west of the post. No one knows what provoked Josh to shoot his friend, but both had been drinking. Shorten Bread was buried in the post cemetery, a grave or two away from the first man to be buried there, Private Thomas P. Kelly, 6th Cavalry. Josh was tried in the old courthouse in Tombstone and was acquitted, the jury deciding that his plea of self-defense was reasonable. Esther Buchanan Smith, niece of Fort Huachuca's postmistress Ila McCarty,



Sgt. Chow Big, Fort Huachuca, 1918.

had a chance to speak with Josh after the trial. "Well, Josh, you're free now." Replied Josh wistfully: "Wish Shorten Bread was free too!"²⁷

In a letter to the author, George E. Maker, an old soldier of the 5th U.S. Cavalry told the story this way:

In December 1913, the 10th Cavalry came to Huachuca to relieve us. When we arrived there in February of that year, we detrained at Huachuca siding and walked the seven and one half miles to the old Indian barracks up in the canyon. Some of these buildings are still there, as you know. It was snowing a little, and, as we had just come from the islands, we sure were cold.

In November 1913 two Apache scouts were hunting. "Shorten Bread" was drinking and "Josh" told him to put his bottle away. Instead, he reached for his rifle but was shot on the draw. We buried him in the Post Cemetery and put "Josh" in the guardhouse. He was sent to Tombstone for trial and was acquitted on self-defense. At "Shorten Bread's" funeral, I, being the regimental trumpeter, sounded taps. That was in 1913. In 1963, 50 years later, I visited the post and Orville Cochran, who was in charge of the museum, took me out to see the grave. That is something that not many men can do.²⁸

To say the least. There is more to Sergeant Maker's story. In June 1975 a large troop reunion was held at Fort Huachuca honoring personnel who had served there in former years. Many veterans of the 92d and 93d Infantry Divisions attended and a number of older veterans from the days of the 5th, 9th and 10th Cavalry, and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments. Two of the oldest conferees, in terms of service, were Master Sergeant John P. Campbell, who served with the 9th Cavalry at Huachuca in 1912, and Sgt. George Maker, G Troop, 5th Cavalry, 1913. These fine old soldiers were chosen to cut the huge birthday cake celebrating the Army's 200th Anniversary.²⁹ Amidst a star-spangled and enthusiastic audience and with spotlights playing upon them, they wheeled the cake the length of the huge field-house to the head table where many general officers and their ladies were seated. They were the hit of the evening.

Retiring in 1932, Charley Bones started a little restaurant near Fort Apache. His price for all meals was the same, 25 cents. He had



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Cpl. George Maker, G Troop, 5th Cavalry, 1913, sounded taps over Shorten Bread's grave at funeral.

Shorten Bread and Josh, before the fatal shooting on November 2, 1913.



but little white trade, but Apaches, attracted by good chow and rock-bottom prices, flocked to the place. Eventually he went broke.

Jess Palmer was a quiet, introspective man, and that was deceptive. He spoke to whites infrequently, even though he spoke pretty fair English. Once in 1918 an army medico met Jess at Fort Apache. The Indian's acknowledgement of the introduction was a terse "How do?" In an effort to draw Jess out, the doctor said: "Heap black clouds. Heap rain come maybe." In low key, resigned voice, Jess replied: "Yes, sir, we generally get a shower each afternoon during the summer months."

Alejo Quintero retired in 1941 and went back to Fort Apache. For years he, Joe Kessay, and members of their families returned to Fort Huachuca to harvest the acorns from the trees along Grierson Street (Officer's Row) and in Huachuca Canyon. By some agreement made the Apache scouts long ago, post authorities are bound to let the descendents come on post to perform this ritual. There seems to be no written agreement, but permission, at least verbally and by tacit understanding in perpetuity, exists for the Indians to harvest the acorns.

Because the need for scouts had abated and because discharged or retired scouts were not replaced, the ranks thinned drastically within a couple of years after organizational transfer to Fort Huachuca. By 1924 only eight scouts remained, and all of these by "old-time" Apache scout standards were "Johnny-come-latelies." Only Quintero, Jess Billy and Jim Lane of the "Old Guard" remained. The others had all enlisted in 1920 or after: Sergeant Sinew L. Riley, Corporal Ivan Antonio, Joe Kessay, William Major, and Andrew Paxton.

In a very real sense, these men were simply marking time, waiting for the end. Writing to Col. Cornelius C. Smith from Fort Huachuca, Lieutenant Colonel M. G. Faris, 25th Infantry informed: "the scouts are unable to replace vacancies. When all the scouts now in Fort Huachuca have 30 years of service, there will be no more Indian scouts. Remaining scouts can never be promoted. There are no ratings for them to fill, and the ones they now hold are retired with the man as he leaves the service."³⁰

In this situation of building up seniority for a retirement pension, there wasn't much for the scouts to do. Whenever regimental maneuvers were held, the scouts went along, relaying messages and doing leg-work around regimental or battalion headquarters. They



Indian scouts at Fort Huachuca in 1929. Left to right: Sgt. Deklay, Sgt. Charley Bones, Sgt. Chow Big, Eskipbygojo, unknown.



Although the government put up quarters for scouts and their families, the Indians preferred their own life-style, and erected tepees and wickiups near the post cemetery.

paraded a lot and of course were always interesting to visitors who expected to see them in full 1880 Apache regalia. Still, they were a willing and cheerful lot, and proud of their service as well as that of the old-timers who roamed Arizona in the glory days. Speaking to Dr. Bruno J. Rolak, Army Communications Command historian in 1973, Joe Kessay said:

"We loved our life at the fort. We had pride in what we were doing and our relationship with the troops was excellent at all times. We were very well-treated and our work, we felt, was important. We were crushed when the scouts were disbanded."³¹

Sergeant William Major added:

"At Ft. Huachuca we marched in many parades, always once a week at least. On occasion when special visitors were present we would dress in Indian costumes which we glamorized. We'd put on a lot of feathers and paint our faces to create an impression of ferocity. The visitors expected to see fierce, painted Apaches, so we complied."³²

This was sad, really, as it tended to make playthings out of willing soldiers who had served long and admirably.

In 1933 several adobe huts were built for the scouts in an area west of Whitside Road called "Apache Flats." While some scouts used the quarters, they were never popular, although containing stoves, running water and outside shower facilities. Most Apache scouts moved to an area near the post cemetery where they put up wickiups. The accompanying photograph shows wickiups as they existed in the 1920's and 30's.

Corporal Quintero retired in 1941, Private Jess Billy in 1944 and Jim Lane in 1945. In 1945 Andrew Paxton fell from his horse on post and died of his injuries in the Fort Huachuca hospital. There were only four scouts left. Fort Huachuca was scheduled for deactivation in 1947, and so the War Department ordered the retirement of the last four scouts, effective 30 September. In the latter part of August 1947, a final parade and review was scheduled by the post commander, Colonel William L. Roberts, for Sergeant Sinew L. Riley, Sergeant Ivan Antonio, Sergeant Joe Kessay and Sergeant William Major. The ceremony represented a sort of "swan song" for Col. Roberts too, as on Friday, August 29, he relinquished command of the post, preparatory to its deactivation on September



Apache Indian scouts, Fort Huachuca, 1934.

15th. More importantly, the unique institution known as the Indian scouts passed into history on that summer day in 1947. Later on Sinew Riley would sum up the organization's accomplishments in his own heartfelt words:

"We were recruited from the warriors of many famous nations. We are the last of the Army's Indian scouts. In a few years we shall be gone to join our comrades in the great hunting grounds beyond the sunset, for our need here is no more. There we shall always remain very proud of our Indian people and of the United States Army, for we were truly the first Americans and you in the Army are now our warriors. To you who will keep the Army's campfires bright, we extend our hands, and to you we will our fighting hearts."³³

No one could have said it better.



Sgt. Sinew L. Riley, one of the last of the famous Indian scouts at Fort Huachuca. The costume worn here was done for a reenactment of earlier scout times.

THE BLUE HELMET DIVISION

In a very real sense, the 1940's ushered in the modern phase of Fort Huachuca's history - no more "horse cavalry," and the presence of many units and men rather than a few. Future conflicts would pit masses of men against other masses of men. The day of the patrol going out after a handful of hostiles or border ruffians was over. Until the fall of 1940, Huachuca was never garrisoned with as much as a full regiment of infantry troops. Then, under the command of Colonel Lee Dunnington Davis, the 1st Battalion, 25th Infantry, was activated, raising the station complement to full regimental strength. In March 1941 cadres of specially trained men were withdrawn from the 25th and formed a nucleus around which the 368th Infantry Regiment was activated. Some 1,600 selective service trainees from Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, West Virginia, Virginia, and Maryland came to Huachuca to round out the regiment. Colonel Carl McKinney became that unit's first commander. The addition of the 368th brought the post soldier population to 5,500 officers and men, largest in post's history to that time.

A nostalgic note of 1941 shows that the army was still celebrating April 6th as "Army Day" in commemoration of America's entry into World War on that date in 1917. Army Day was separate and distinct from Memorial Day, and both were diligently and proudly observed at Fort Huachuca. Nowadays neither is, having been put aside for the somewhat hybrid Armed Forces Day, a moveable feast depending upon the day's proximity to a weekend and the proclamation of the president. Army Day was originated in 1928 by the Society of the Military Order of the World War. Throughout the 1930's and 40's and for a few years after, it was celebrated on Army posts throughout the country and augmented by large numbers of patriotic groups from the communities near military installations. In that now dim era, patriotic speeches, wearing of the uniform on leave and liberty and some flag-waving were natural expressions of the soldier's code. The world has turned, and an increasingly undemonstrative society has put aside such manifestations of the military spirit.

With the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, a whole new dimension of combat training was brought to Fort Huachuca. No longer would the presence of a single regiment on post excite comment. Henceforth the post would accomodate an entire division, and a whole new city of wartime barracks would spring up where mountain grasses grew before.

On May 15, 1942, the 93d Infantry Division was reactivated at Fort Huachuca, the first of two full-strength divisions to train there in preparation for combat duty overseas. The 93d Infantry Division was an all black division with white officers¹ and was comprised of the 25th, 368th and 369th Infantry Regiments, and the 593rd, 594th and 596th Field Artillery Battalions.

Major General Charles P. Hall was the division's first commanding officer at Fort Huachuca, serving from May until October 1942. He was succeeded by Major General Fred W. Miller who commanded from October 1942 until May 1943. Next came Major General Raymond G. Lehman, May 1943 to August 1944, and then Major General Harry H. Johnson. Later on, Brigadier General William Spence commanded the division. The division adopted the insignia of the blue French Army helmet on a circular black field, symbolizing the division's attachment to the French Army during World War I. This shoulder sleeve patch had been approved by a letter of December 30, 1918, from the Adjutant General of the A.E.F.² to the commander, 93rd Division.

The 93rd Division was first activated in December 1917 at Camp Stuart, in Newport News, Virginia, and the nucleus of the organization was composed of black men from Connecticut, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, Tennessee, Ohio, South Carolina and the District of Columbia. In the fall of 1918, the division saw perilous service in the Meuse-Argonne offensive in France, when the 369th 370th, 371st and 372d Regiments were brigaded with the French Army.

The 369th Infantry, as a part of the French 161st Division, attacked the German position near Ripont in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive and captured the town. Against fierce and determined resistance, this "Hell-Fighter" regiment advanced up the heights of the Dormoise River and spearheaded the assault upon Sechault. Despite heavy casualties, the soldiers of the 369th pressed the attack, flanking and overwhelming the German gunners, although raked by steady and accurate machine gun fire. At this time the regiment saw service in the Oise-Aisne operation and in the Champagne, Verdun,

Aire, and Anould sectors as a part of the French Army. Displaying exceptional bravery at Bois d'Hauze, Minancourt and Maison-en-Champagne sectors, the entire regiment was awarded the Croix de Guerre. One hundred and seventy-one individuals, officers and men, were awarded the French Legion of Honor Medal.

The 93rd Division was deactivated in March 1919 but brought back to active status at Huachuca in May 1942, as described above. It was deactivated again on February 3, 1946, at Camp Stoneman, California, but a lot happened in that four-year period.

What was it like at Huachuca for the soldiers of the 93rd Division early in 1942? For one thing, the big American assaults on enemy territory were yet to come - the landing on Guadalcanal in August, the fight at Kasserine Pass and the occupation of Tunis a year later, and "D" Day on the coast of Normandy in June 1944. Just the same, the men of Huachuca, like the men in posts all over the land, knew that the war would be long and costly, and that sooner or later everyone would be caught up in it.

There was no TV, but men sat clustered around radios in day rooms listening to the latest reports from war zones, from people like H. V. Kaltenborn, Ed Murrow and Ernie Pyle. Most of the Huachuca men had come from greener pastures, places like Camp Atterbury, Indiana, or Fort McClellan, Alabama. To them, Huachuca was a wild sort of place, and they were homesick. Telephone booths, clustered around the PX like sentry boxes, had long lines of men waiting to call home, and inside the PX men bought just about whatever was offered. The girls at home couldn't get kleenex because paper, like butter, sugar, gasoline and tires was in short supply. Their boyfriends bought out the stocks of kleenex as soon as it hit the shelves and sent boxes of it to Indianapolis, Memphis, Atlanta and Houston.

The community of Fry just outside the main gate was tiny, offering little in the way of entertainment for thousands of soldiers. So the men hung around jukeboxes in the PX and listened to the Andrews Sisters sing "Bei Mir Bist du Schoen" and "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree With Anyone Else But Me," and to the Mills Brothers sing "Paper Doll" and "Mr. Five-by-Five." Once in awhile real live talent came to town, like Lena Horne, Pearl Bailey and Dinah Shore. The great heavyweight champ, Joe Louis, came to Huachuca in 1943 and dedicated a brand new recreation hall.

There were movies on post, and of course everybody went to see them. The movies had not yet reached that "adult" stage of realism

displaying cruelty, profanity or nudity for its own sake. Rather they were vehicles for gentler entertainment, starring such all-time favorites as Greer Garson and Clark Gable, Lana Turner and Jimmy Stewart, Leslie Howard and Olivia de Havilland. Music was structured and the lyrics were intelligible. For some folk, Nelson Eddy singing to Jeanette McDonald is still better than listening to Alice Cooper, Led Zeppelin or the Grateful Dead.

Most of the men were "big city," and Huachuca seemed like the end of the earth. It was beautiful, all right, with its oak-studded hills and cottonwood-shaded canyons, but it wasn't "home." Put it all together, and you had the classic example of a World War II cantonment: thousands of men far away from home, going through the motions, and wishing that the war would end and they could go on home.

And then there was the training. It was rugged. There were long marches with full packs across the flatlands stretching towards Benson, Tombstone, St. David, or Sonoita. There were tactical exercises up into the steep, rocky canyons of the Huachucas and night problems in the lonely Whetstones and Mustangs - enough to try the mind, muscles, and patience of even the sturdiest soldiers. On top of all that, there were inspections, drills, schools, "shots" and all of the other little niceties of life to keep the GI occupied.

All things considered, the Huachuca training areas were made to order. The rain-slick arroyos of summer, with the cloud bursts hammering down the canyons, were much like the soggy trails along the Laruma and Torokina Rivers in Bougainville, - waiting to soak the soldiers of the 93rd Division.

Men learned how to set off demolitions up in Huachuca, Garden, Ramsey and Miller canyons, and they learned to bivouac along the banks of the Babocomari and the San Pedro. They built Bailey Bridges over dry creek beds and ran heavy vehicles over the groaning spans.

After trudging all over the Huachuca Mountains and environs on training exercises, the division shoved off for maneuvers in Louisiana. There the men put in a hectic three-month tour hiking through canebrake and wading through swamps to toughen up for the jungles of the South Pacific. From Louisiana the division moved to Camp Young, California, for more training.

This wartime cantonment near the desert community of Needles was as hot, dry, windy and sand-blown, as Louisiana was humid. It seemed as though the training would never end, but it did. On



93D Division training, Fort Huachuca, 1943.



93D Division on Bougainville, 1944.

January 21, 1944, the division left San Francisco for duty overseas.

An advance party of the 93rd arrived at Guadalcanal on January 29th, and other echelons joined it during the several weeks which followed. One regiment disembarked at Pavuvu and Banika in the Russells, and there were amused to see the natives with bright orange colored (henna) hair and bamboo nose ornaments. Most of the division went to Guadalcanal, but elements were sent to the Treasury Islands and to Hollandia, Dutch New Guinea.

Combat units moved to Bougainville on March 21, 1944, and were attached to the Americal Division. These outfits no sooner put foot on the beach than they were in combat, hitting positions on the enemy perimeter. The 25th Regimental Combat Team reconnoitered across the Laruma River on April 2nd and made reconnaissance throughout the Torokina River Valley from April 7th to the 12th. In May the 25th RCT hit the Japanese along the Kuma. Having swept these positions, the combat team went on to the Green Islands to engage the enemy there. Elements of the 93rd attached to XIV Corps remained in Bougainville to raid, patrol and maintain perimeter positions.

In November a reconnaissance group moved to Finschhafen, and security patrols engaged the enemy at Urapas, Wardo and Wari. Now, decades later, these names are half-forgotten and evoke but dim memories of the past. Still, veterans dwelling upon them for a moment can remember how it was in that steaming, mosquito-ridden, far away land.

The division occupied Morotai from April until October 1945. Most of the hard fighting was over, but there were scattered skirmishes on Morotai and upon Middleburg and Noemfoor Islands. The division moved to Zamboanga in July 1945 and remained there until January 1946. After the A-bombs had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, there wasn't much for anyone to do but just sit around and wait for that troop ship heading for the good old U.S.A. Still the division did a little more moving around - to Palawan, Sanga Sanga and Mindanao - before leaving for home from Tacloban, Leyte on January 17, 1946.

In April 1972 the much traveled and much decorated colors of the 93rd Division came back to Fort Huachuca. In a special ceremony the division flag was given to the post for posterity. Lieutenant Colonel Felix Goodwin, ex-member of the 25th Infantry Regiment and of the 93rd Division, accepted the flag for the post from Brigadier General George M. Snead, then Deputy Commanding

General for U.S. Army Strategic Communications Command. With this ceremony Fort Huachuca became the 93rd Division home station. The flag is displayed proudly in the Post Museum, and the 93rd Division is listed on the unit designation boards at both the main and north gates to Fort Huachuca.

On November 23, 1942, Second Lieutenant Vera Ann Harrison reported for duty at Fort Huachuca. She was the first of some 180 black Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAACS) members to serve beside the men of the 93rd Division. In December the post commander, Colonel Edwin N. Hardy, greeted members of the 32nd and 33rd WAAC companies as they detrained at the cantonment area near the warehouses along Railroad Avenue. Standing by, in predictable anticipation, were several thousand men of the 93rd.

With tongue-in-cheek the colonel approached the microphone set up for the welcoming address he would make. "These WAACS," he said, "must consider our soldiers as brothers in arms."³ The men "broke up" with howls of enthusiastic assent. Women of the 32nd Company, mostly from Des Moines, Iowa were commanded by Second Lieutenant Frances Alexander; Lieutenant Mary Kearney commanded the 33rd WAAC Company.

The WAACS were put to work at once, assigned generally to such jobs as postal clerks, secretaries, cooks, switchboard operators, bookkeepers and post exchange clerks, any job in fact which would "free a man to fight." Still, some were employed in heavier tasks, driving trucks, working in warehouses and doing mechanic's work.

A new unit had been prepared for the WAACS, including six barracks, two mess halls and a large administration building, housing a PX, library, company supply rooms, game rooms, private offices for company commanders and a beauty parlor. If the ladies were going to see their "brothers in arms," they might as well get prettied up.

Near this building complex was a recreation area 300 feet long by 60 feet wide, holding basketball, volleyball and tennis courts, and a softball diamond.

A local newspaper reporter wrote: "Although WAACS are already filling jobs at Des Moines, Daytona Beach, Florida and Washington, D.C. and are serving as recruiting officers in the nine service commands, those coming to Huachuca will be the first to serve in the primary function of replacing soldiers so that the latter may serve in combat roles."⁴

Integration was still far away. Wrote Nancy Shea in *The WAACS*, "...dances are held at the service clubs, and they have good music. Colored officers are expected to date colored WAAC officers and colored auxiliaries are expected to date colored enlisted men."⁵

It was during 1942 that a couple of interesting incidents occurred at Huachuca. The first was the death of Myrtle the mule. Myrtle began her army career in 1913, and when she died on post on September 12, 1942, she was almost 34 years old. In 1917 she made the trip into Mexico as a pack-train mule on Gen. Pershing's Punitive Expedition. Because she had carried freight at Colonia Dublan, Parral and Carrizal down in Chihuahua, these names were emblazoned on the blanket she wore at parades, ceremonies and reviews. Myrtle was with D Company, 1st Battalion, 25th Infantry, when that organization was stationed at Camp Harry J. Jones, Douglas, and came to Huachuca in 1932 accompanying M Company of the 25th. She "retired" in 1939 and was put out to pasture. Gen. Pershing issued special orders that Myrtle should live out her life in comfort and ease, and be allowed to die a natural death.

In 1940 Myrtle became critically ill and was so weak she could not get to her feet. A vet recommended a mercy bullet for the old girl, but Col. Lee Davis, the post commander, remembered Pershing's admonition. Myrtle rallied and within several days, was browsing on the sweet grasses up in Huachuca Canyon.

To the "Johnny-come-latelies," Myrtle was just another mule, but to the old-timers of the 25th Regiment she was something special. Her handlers looked after her almost as though she were human, and until she grew feeble, no military parade was complete without Myrtle proudly passing in review in her purple and gold robe decorated with her battle credits, chevrons and service stripes.

Myrtle was the last of a noble line. With her passing the long line of stables which once housed hundreds of mules was empty. The last 104 mules, except for Myrtle, were sent to Fort Bliss, Texas, when the army decided to streamline its transportation and substitute trucks for mules. Myrtle lived to see the mechanized monsters snorting over the roads at Huachuca, making noise and poisoning the air. With mule-like calm and dignity she accepted them and went right on munching grass.

When she died, Myrtle was partially deaf and almost totally blind. The army veterinarian who attended her, Captain Roger F.

Bolenbaker, attributed death to "old age," a logical conclusion.⁶ Her remains were cremated and buried in a simple service on post.

The year 1942 was a remarkable one at Fort Huachuca in terms of violent actions by soldiers. Perhaps it was the general atmosphere of wartime which incited the passions of soldiers in the ranks; perhaps it was the boredom and loneliness of routine garrison life, or maybe the weather. Whatever the reason, tempers flared and men died.

On January 8, 1942, three soldiers of the 25th Infantry, J. C. Levice, Charles Sanders and Grady B. Cole, killed one Coy C. Qualls, a taxicab driver in Bisbee in an argument over cab fare. The three proceeded to steal the cab, dump Quall's body in the desert outside of Douglas and run away to Texas. They were caught, brought back and tried before Superior Court Judge John Wilson Ross in Cochise County. The men pleaded guilty and were convicted and sentenced to die in the gas chamber on January 8, 1943, one year to the day from their senseless crime.

In an appeal to the state's supreme court, defense counsel sought to set aside the death penalty on the grounds that the trio was improperly sentenced by Judge Ross and that the court erred in considering a confession signed by Cole. Both arguments were swept aside in the decision written by Justice A. G. McAlister. Chief Justice Alfred C. Lockwood and Justice Henry D. Ross concurred.⁷ The executions were carried out as ordered.

On March 11, 1942, Private First Class Oscar B. Dudley, A Company, 25th Infantry, shot Private Earlie Babbs, also of A Company. The murder was committed at the Civic Building, Helena, Montana. Dudley was sent to Fort Huachuca to stand trial, and was found guilty in a general court martial trial held there during the period May 11-25, 1942. He was sentenced to hang. The reviewing authority, Headquarters, 9th Corps Area, at Fort Douglas, Utah, approved the finding.⁸ On March 16, 1943, President Roosevelt commuted Dudley's sentence to dishonorable discharge and life imprisonment.⁹

By then the commutation was academic, since Dudley had "flown the coop." He had been transferred from Montana to Fort Huachuca early in May 1942 and made a successful escape from the post stockade on January 25, 1943. He was apprehended in Kentucky 11 years later on October 5, 1954. He was clapped into jail at Fort Campbell. Fortunately, Dudley was arrested for some minor offense, finger printed, and his past was brought to light.

On 7 October, 1954, he was transferred to the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and was sent to the federal penitentiary, also at Leavenworth, on November 17, 1955. Dudley received regular reviews for clemency by the Army Clemency and Parole Board, and in 1954 his sentence was reduced to 36 years. He will be eligible for parole on March 4, 1978.

On June 9, 1942, six men of Company A, 318th Engineer Battalion, were fooling around in front of their barracks up on the northwest corner of the parade ground. These men were Privates James Rowe, Joseph Shields, Thomas Rose, Harry Roach, Harry Reed and Ben Peterson. Earlier in the day Rose had lost a package of cigarettes, presumably stolen. In joking manner Rowe suggested that Shields had appropriated the missing package. Shields was not amused and got into an altercation with Rowe. "I don't want nobody to accuse me of nothing he didn't see me do."¹⁰

Now Rowe was inflamed. To everyone's horror and surprise, he whipped out a knife and stabbed Shields repeatedly in the neck, severing the carotid artery. Shields bled to death within a matter of minutes.

Rowe was tried by general court martial on June 30, found guilty and sentenced to hang by the neck until dead. The sentence was approved by the 93rd Infantry Division Commander, Maj. Gen. Charles P. Hall, and President Roosevelt confirmed the sentence. On November 6th Rowe was taken to a long, narrow stone warehouse near the post commissary and hung.¹¹ Interment without honors was made in a grave parallel to the south boundary fence in an unassigned portion of the post cemetery. More of this later.

About a week prior to Rowe's trial, another tragedy occurred on post. At about 8 p.m. on June 22, 1942, Staff Sergeant Jerry Sykes of B Company, 369th Infantry Regiment, went to visit some friends in the little community of Fry just outside the main gate. The friends, First Sergeant Lester M. Craig, Service Company, 25th Infantry, and his wife Hazel were giving a party.

Prior to marrying Craig, Hazel had been Sykes' girlfriend, and the two were carrying on a clandestine relationship. Sykes was still lavishing most of his pay on Hazel, but as Craig had been newly promoted to first sergeant, she figured the two of them could make it on the advanced salary and so decided to throw Sykes over.

Some time after Sykes reached the Craig household, Hazel and a woman friend went out to buy some more liquor. While the two women were out of the kitchen, Sykes slipped in and removed a

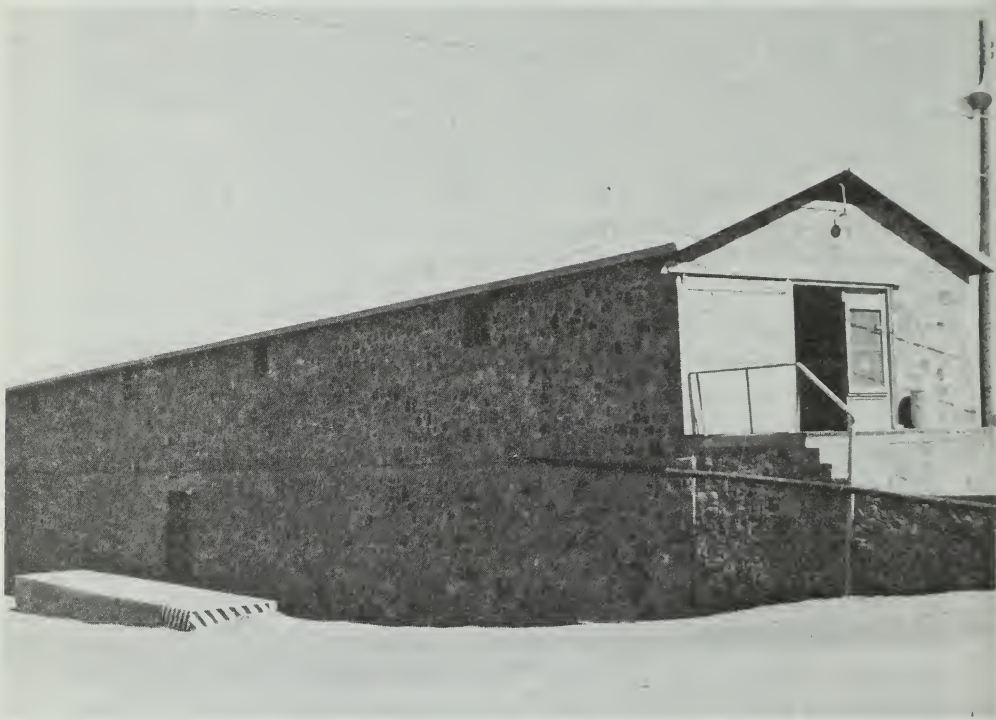
knife from a cupboard drawer. When Hazel and her friend returned, Sykes had a drink and then went into the bedroom to lie down. About 40 minutes later, Hazel came into the bedroom and asked Sykes to take her to Fort Huachuca. Instead, they drove to a bistro in Fry, the "Blue Moon," and had several drinks. From the town they went on to the post, and Sykes turned off on a road about 150 yards inside the main gate. He parked the car out of sight, and the two got into a violent argument. Sykes drew the stolen knife and stabbed Hazel viciously in the neck, chest, side and in frenzied rage continued to mutilate his victim's body, even after she was dead. Sykes then returned to his barracks and changed clothes.

At about 10:30 p.m. Lieutenant Albert W. Hall of the 212th M.P. Company found Hazel's body. Checking with Craig, he soon learned of Sykes' presence at the party and shortly thereafter arrested Sykes in his barracks. Sykes' bloodstained clothes were sprawled upon the floor. In the blood-spattered khaki trousers was the knife used so brutally by the enraged killer.

Sykes was tried by general court martial on July 21-22, 1942, and found guilty of murder. He was sentenced to be hung. As in the case of Rowe, Sykes' conviction and sentence were upheld by Gen. Hall and President Roosevelt.¹² Like Rowe, Sykes was taken to the dreadful stone warehouse, building number 3007, and hung. The date was January 19, 1943. Twice within eight weeks the trap door had been sprung at Huachuca for men paying the ultimate penalty for taking human life. A bizarre note was struck in Sykes' case by Joseph McCrea, the post veterinarian. "I don't believe it. Sykes was a nice guy, and the base librarian. Something happened. His grave was open for so many days after the execution, and some people say they saw him in California afterward."¹³

But the story does not end there. Also, like Rowe, Sykes was buried in "an otherwise unassigned portion" of the post cemetery. The unassigned portion, according to the extract of Record Book of Burials for the post cemetery, was 108 feet east of the southwest corner of the cemetery. That put the graves of Rowe and Sykes in close proximity to honored individuals like Private Thomas Kelly, Private Peter King (both of the 6th U.S. Cavalry), Indian scout Shorten Bread, and others in sections one and two of the cemetery.

Years later, a post commander, learning of the Rowe and Sykes stories, had their bodies disinterred and reburied in the extreme northeast corner of the cemetery, a few feet inside the fence. The theory was that neither man was worthy of burial next to honorable



“Hangman’s Warehouse,” building number 3007. A trapdoor was sprung by a lever in the basement. A partition was provided to shield the executioner from a view of the hanging.

soldiers and heroes. As it works out, the gravestones stand in splendid isolation, literally standing out like "sore thumbs," apart and aloof from all markers in the cemetery. The peculiar isolation of the graves causes more attention and wonder than any other item in this hallowed place. Visitors are forever wandering off to the far corner of the cemetery to inspect the two marble slabs, each bearing a single name with no other identifying information. The summer sun shines, and the winter wind blows, and the outcasts lie side by side, dishonored but not forgotten.

Finally, one unsolved murder occurred in August 1942. On the morning of August 9th, the body of Daniel Edward Bass, a bowling alley attendant, was found in a corner room of the bowling alley, his head bashed in. Investigation of "numerous logical suspects" was made but with negative results.¹⁴ It was noted that the murderer may have had only four toes on the right foot, inasmuch as the latent print of the right foot revealed but four toes. On this basis hundreds of soldiers in Bass' living area had to stand foot inspection by doctors and orderlies of the medical department. While this mass inspection turned up some odd-looking feet, each one had the proper number of toes. The "case" ended with this cryptic statement: "It is believed that the unknown subject entered a rear window of the bowling alley, removed his shoes, and attacked the victim with a bowling pin."¹⁵

From these lurid tales of murder and execution, let us turn for a moment to something pleasant. The following event, or more properly chain of events, began at Fort Huachuca in 1941 and still evokes enormous interest. It has taken on the character of a legend, but it may be absolutely true.

The lure of buried treasure and sudden riches has, at one time or another, occupied the thoughts of just about everyone alive. The origin of the precious stuff is unimportant. It makes no difference if the gold was stashed away by stagecoach bandits or train robbers, or was buried by pirates on some remote desert island. In the American Southwest tales of buried treasure abound, given some credence by the enchanting stories of Spanish Conquistadores, Mexican mule-skinners, civil war paymaster wagons, and Yaqui or Apache diggings sequestered in the hills. What poor soul straining to stretch his pay check has not paused to dream about stumbling upon a pile of bright, shining gold bars? Well, once, not so very long ago, a soldier at Fort Huachuca did it!

Private Bob Jones (later to call himself "Sergeant" in a cheery mood of self-confidence) was serving in the 25th Infantry at Fort Huachuca in 1941. On occasion he would hike into the canyons of the Huachucas for exercise and relaxation: Huachuca, Garden, Ramsey, Miller and Carr. It was a pleasant way to pass several hours, listening to the chattering of jays and staccato hammering of woodpeckers, and catching vague glimpses of forest animals in the heavily wooded canyons.

One day he and a companion took a stroll into Huachuca Canyon and Jones fell into a cavern. One moment he was chatting with his buddy; the next moment he literally dropped from sight. Picking himself up at the bottom of the hole, he looked about. A small, narrow tunnel led off to a larger room. He entered the room and Lord! What was that? Before him, stacked in neat piles against the walls of the cavern, were row upon row of gold ingots.

By Jones' calculations the bars were uniform in size: 16 inches long, four inches wide, and two inches thick. The fissure he had fallen into was slightly over 30 feet in depth, and he emerged only with the help of his friend. In great excitement the two men ran pell mell down the canyon to report to the company first sergeant.

That worthy dismissed the story as a hoax and went about his business. Chagrined, but undaunted, Jones returned to the cave and whacked off the end of one of the ingots with a rock. The bars were too heavy to be lugging around; besides, a generous chunk of gold was all he needed for proof anyway.

To "secure" his find, Jones chiseled his initials in a flat rock and leaned it against a stack of ingots.

This time, Jones by-passed the incredulous top kick and took his chunk of gold to an "assayer in a nearby town." He was paid \$890 for the piece and promptly blew it on a party for some of his buddies. Unfortunately, there is no record of Jones' transaction with the assayer, not only because he never told where he went to transact this business, but because the country had gone off the gold standard in 1933, making the sale or purchase of gold without a federal permit illegal.

For some inexplicable reason, Jones left the gold right where he found it. Not too amazing, perhaps, considering the weight of the bars and the insurmountable task of hiding it in the barracks. Conveniently, his chum had died. Now there was no question of a split, and no one else knew where the cache was.

Jones got out of the army and went back to his home in Dallas. There he told and retold his story, finding an occasional sympathetic ear. Generally, however, he got the needle or the raspberry. In vowing to return, he had a problem. As a soldier he could walk around Fort Huachuca with impunity. As a civilian, he couldn't even get onto the reservation without a pass.

Years passed, 18 years in fact. Finally, in January 1959, after a lengthy interchange of correspondence with the army, he obtained permission to resume his search. He went up into Huachuca Canyon. Was this the place? It looked different. Years of flash-floods had washed down huge boulders from the towering crags above. Trees had been swept away. Oddly, the place looked the same, but different.

Jones started to dig. After many hours of back-breaking labor with a pick and shovel he called on the army for assistance. Obliging, the post commander assigned a bulldozer and operator to the task, and digging started in earnest. At 15 feet they hit water and the sides of the excavation began falling in. The hole was dozed over, and the noisy big machine went clanking down the hill.

On the next go-round, Jones brought two of his ex-army buddies who were in Fort Huachuca when the story broke in 1941. Also, he brought his old top sergeant along to convince the brass that Jones was on the up and up. Still believing Jones to be the victim of his own imagination, the first sergeant nonetheless vouched for Jones' character, and so the army once again put its resources into the search.

The post engineer brought in a well-drilling rig and proceeded to sink a shaft. After muscling past several very large boulders, the drill hit an empty space, an air-pocket about six feet deep. The room? No a false alarm - just an underground air space festooned with the intricate tracery of root systems.

Next a crane was brought in. Metal clanged resoundingly against rock, and the canyon reverberated with the purposeful noise of treasure-seekers at work. The word had spread. Milling about the puffing machines were crowds of soldiers, civilians and even some U.S. Treasury agents, standing by for Uncle Sam's slice of the pie. Army photographers from the Public Affairs Office stood ready with cameras poised. A local TV station had its mobile van ready to bring the glorious find right into the living rooms of fascinated watchers all over the country.

Most expectant of all was "Sergeant" Bob Jones, waiting breathlessly for the shovel to dump a load of gold bars at his feet. All that came out of the shovel's maw was soupy black mud, fed by underground water and spilling back down the slimy sides of a gaping hole some 60 feet across.

As the hot afternoon sun ran its course, evening shadows began to race down the steep slopes of Huachuca Peak. Suddenly, the shovel operator jumped from his cab and ran over to the pile of muck he had just dumped. A yellowish-white substance protruded from the evil, oozing mess, shining like a beacon.

"What is it," shouted someone, "gold?"

"No," answered the disgusted operator, "its just tufa!"

For a moment the porous limestone had caught the waning sunlight and sparkled like precious metal. The operator climbed back into his rig and resumed digging. Somehow, the sense of urgency seemed to fade with the setting sun. Flash-bulbs were put away. Tape recorders were turned off, and people began to drift away. Only the diehards hung on to see what might happen.

Jones remained, bravely telling and retelling his story to bystanders. After a while even these fickle folk began to leave the scene.

"I know it's here," Jones kept repeating. "I just know it's here!" With dusk, the shovel bit into a layer of solid rock and excavation ceased.

Is there a treasure in Huachuca Canyon? Who knows? Jones returned to Dallas following the abortive attempts described above, but he came back to Huachuca in February 1963, bringing with him a Prescott, Arizona, contractor named Terrall Mahan. By noon, Jones and company were even guessing at the treasure's worth, somewhere between 80 and 90 million dollars. Jones even brought a spiritualist into the act. Mitchell Holland claimed that he had a vision in which a spirit designated the exact spot for digging. Coincidentally, it happened to be where Mahan was already going at it. Eventually, Jones and Mahan ran out of money and had to quit altogether.

That there may be a horde of gold ingots lying in some subterranean chamber is supported by the fact that miners have honeycombed the Huachucas for years, with shafts, tunnels and stopes. Before that, Spanish and Mexican gold-seekers worked the area for centuries, going all the way back to the early 1600's. Because of the mighty cloud bursts which roar down the canyon in

summer, caverns certainly abound in the Huachuca Mountains. But gold ingots?

Well, either the ingots are there, or else people will not relinquish the belief that the ingots are there. Each year the army is approached by some individual, group, or syndicate seeking permission to dig. The latest came in the summer of 1975 when a well-heeled west coast outfit brought its sophisticated gear into Huachuca Canyon and had a go at it. They found nothing, but you can bet your bottom ingot that people will keep right on trying.

THE BUFFALO DIVISION

On April 13, 1943, the Commanding General, Second US Army, received a communication from the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army, to move certain organizations from scattered stations to Fort Huachuca in order to form the 92nd Infantry Division. "It is desired that you issue necessary instructions to transfer all elements of the 92nd Infantry Division to Fort Huachuca....¹ Coming to Huachuca from Camp Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas, were the 371st Infantry Regiment, 597th, 598th, 599th, and 600th Field Artillery Battalions. Coming from Fort McClellan, Alabama, were Headquarters and Service Company, MP Platoon, 92nd Signal Company, 317th Engineer Battalion, 317th Medical Battalion, 792nd Ordnance and Light Maintenance Company and the 92nd Infantry Division Band. The 370th Infantry would depart Camp Breckinridge, Kentucky, in serial number two,² with the 365th Infantry leaving Camp Atterbury, Indiana, in serial number four.

The outfits named above began their moves on schedule and by May 11th had assembled at Fort Huachuca. The division was commanded by Major General Edward E. M. ("Ned") Almond, who commanded the organization from October 15, 1942 to August 1945. Other top-ranking officers of the division included Brigadier General J. S. Wood, Assistant Division Commander; Brigadier General W. H. Colbern, Artillery Commander; and Colonel Frank E. Barber, Chief of Staff.

The division was first organized in October 1917 at Camps Funston, Grant, Dodge, Meade, and Dix,³ entirely of black enlisted personnel with white officers. It was then assembled at Camp Upton in June 1918 and sent overseas to France, where it disembarked on July 18th of that year. It was reactivated at Fort McClellan, Alabama, on October 15, 1942, and transferred to Fort Huachuca in April and May 1943, as described above. The heraldic insignia of the division was a black American bison inscribed upon an olive-drab

circle, reminiscent of the "Buffalo Soldier" days of earlier black organizations.⁴

The 365th Infantry served valiantly in the St. Die and Marbache Sectors (Lorraine), and in the Meuse Argonne Offensive in France during the First World War.

The 370th Infantry, the "Pride of Chicago," began life as the 8th Illinois National Guard Regiment and was the first U.S. unit to enter the French fortress of Laon. It also had the distinction of fighting the last battle of World War I, capturing a German wagon train just one-half hour after the armistice. Twenty-one Distinguished Service Crosses and 68 French Croix de Guerre medals were awarded to officers and men of the 370th Infantry in France.

The 371st Regiment exhibited exceptional courage during the Champagne Offensive and was awarded a citation by the French government. One officer of the regiment won the French Legion of Honor, and the Croix de Guerre was awarded to 89 enlisted men and 34 officers.

The 372nd Regiment fought along side the 371st as a part of the French 157th ("Red Hand") Division. Paying a lasting tribute to the men of the two American regiments, officers of the French 157th accepted a trust of 10,500 francs, donated by their men, to erect a monument in the American's honor. Moreover, the Division Commander, Goybet, gave lavish tribute to the Americans when he said on December 15, 1918: "Dear Friends from America, after you have crossed the ocean, forget not the Red Hand Division. Our pure fraternity of arms has been soaked in the blood of brave men. These ties are indissoluble." The Americans did not forget. They adopted the French Red Hand symbol as their regimental crest, with a castle in the upper right quadrant of the shield,⁵ two gold bars crossing from top to bottom, and left to right,⁶ all over a scroll bearing the words "Fidelis et Paratus," Faithful and Ready. This distinctive insignia was adopted officially under authorization by the War Department on November 20, 1931.⁷ Another officer of the 157th, Colonel Quillet, said: "The 372nd Regiment showed the finest qualities of bravery and daring."⁸

Two soldiers of the 372nd, Privates Henry Johnson and Needham Roberts, were the first American soldiers to win the Croix de Guerre. The two men routed a German raiding party of 12 men, killing four and wounding three. Johnson was wounded three times in the melee, Roberts twice.⁹

Once established at Huachuca, the 92nd got down to business. The training was rugged and intense but calculated to mould recruits into a hard, mobile strike force that could operate anywhere. As it turned out, the hikes, night problems and tactical exercises in the canyons and mountains of the Huachuca range were excellent training for the tough road ahead in Italy.

As a matter of fact, every facet of life at Huachuca now centered about training. Training exercises turned into long, rigorous marches under blazing summer sun with but a small canteen full of water, and arduous hikes up into the mountains for three and four days at a time under simulated battle conditions.

To accomplish that, the command stressed realism. In "attacking" the town of Charleston, for example, in November 1943, infantrymen advanced less than 200 yards behind a curtain of artillery fire and came within 20 feet of "protective" machine gun fire. Accordingly, they got the smell and feel of combat without suffering casualties. Gen. Almond said of the exercise: "The results of combat firing with employment of combined arms in close support in which men advanced under screening fire of their own weapons, were very successful."¹⁰

After this "baptism of fire" weary soldiers of the 92nd were better able to appreciate a letter sent to a Huachuca officer by a friend of the 93rd Division fighting the Japanese.

Be tougher than hell on discipline. On the battlefield it shows up. All night problems are important, and so is patrolling. It is vitally necessary to know the sound of all weapons so you can tell who is firing. It is essential to use live rounds of ammunition in training exercises. Walking forward under fire is tough, but nothing that cannot be endured. I have seen a single machine gun pin down a green battalion for hours. If the 92nd Division proceeds on the theory that a toothpick will do the job, change the word "toothpick" to club! Get it done!¹¹

Gen. Almond had the officer's letter published in the post newspaper and added some of his own words, later republished in a Tucson daily.

Every man in this outfit must be brave, deadly, tough, and tricky, if he is to participate in this war against enemies who know how to hate. Men must know how to dig or die, shoot to kill, crawl forward



Maj. Gen. Edward M. Almond, CG, 92nd Inf Div, is pictured here with Lt. Gen. Leslie J. McNair (left) and Col. Edwin N. Hardy, Post Commander (right).

under live machine gun fire, reduce enemy fortifications, and after weary, sleepless days and nights come marching back to post with heads held high, proud of their achievements.¹²

Almond spared no one. Cooks, bakers, motor pool mechanics, hospital orderlies - all had to take their turn in combat training exercises. Even Almond himself took a crack at it. In December 1943, he led the entire headquarters staff, including generals Woods and Colburn and a number of lesser ranks, through the obstacle course. To the delight of GI's, these officers snaked along on their bellies under live machine gun fire, wriggling like worms under seven-strand barbed wire entanglements with nitro-starch bombs bursting all around them. Dirty, panting, sweating, knees and elbows torn by rocks, the senior officers finished the course smiling, to the cheers of their admiring soldiers. Indeed, Almond was no softie. He was the first man in the division to take a jeep over an almost impossibly steep ridge later dubbed "Almond Hill." He was the first to jump into a foxhole and let a tank run over his position, and he was the lead man in a 10 mile hike along the skyline of the Huachucas. When he said: "Follow me!" he meant it. The unit was not particularly popular, but when the division staged from Huachuca for front line duty overseas, the men were ready.

Training for the division progressed by stages. The first phase had to do with the individual proficiency of the soldier and consisted mainly in acquainting men with weapons, the tools of war, and general behavior of the soldier. This had been accomplished largely in places like McClellan and Breckinridge prior to the division's assignment to Huachuca. Phase two consisted of unit training and team work, employing groups from squad to regimental size. By summer 1943 the division was heavily involved with exercises combining the use of infantry, mechanized cavalry and artillery. Insofar as possible, each exercise simulated contact with German or Japanese adversaries.

Of some interest to historians are the logistical factors accruing to Fort Huachuca in 1943. It was the supply distribution center for all of Arizona's military units, as well as for many in New Mexico and several in Southern California. Its two hospitals contained 1,141 beds for a population of over 25,000, which offered some contrast to Tucson's 350 hospital beds and 80,000 citizens. One of Huachuca's hospitals (946 beds) was the only Negro commanded and staffed hospital in the United States. Also, it was the largest service hospital,



Gunners of the 92d Div. in training, Fort Huachuca, June, 1943.

the number two spot going to the St. Louis Municipal Hospital with 738 beds. Laundry for men assigned to Douglas Airbase was done at Huachuca, and food was processed and distributed to Luke, Thunderbird and Wickenburg Air Stations. The telephone exchange cleared in excess of 23,000 calls daily. Two bakeries produced several thousand pounds of bread each day. Six tons of fresh vegetables were served daily to hungry soldiers, and at Thanksgiving over 10 tons of turkey were served in the mess halls.

The stadium accommodated 11,000 people and was always filled for football games. There were athletic fields of all types accommodating baseball, softball and touch-football leagues and track and field meets.

In the summer of 1943, Foster Field was dedicated at Huachuca and named in honor of Andrew ("Rube") Foster, a deceased baseball player of national repute. Foster, a black man, was one of the great baseball stars of his race. Unfortunately, he lived in a time when blacks were excluded from major league baseball. Had he been given the opportunity, he would have been another Jackie Robinson, Willie Mays or Hank Aaron. Foster was not an ex-soldier but was deemed worthy of commemoration regardless. On July 18, 1943, Col. E. N. Hardy, Post Commander, dedicated the field in the presence of Mrs. Foster and Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Inspector General Department, Washington, D. C.

In the enlisted men's clubs, men "wore out" about 150 decks of playing cards each month. For the more discerning there were classes in painting, playwriting and language (several).

There were regularly scheduled community sings, USO shows, boxing matches, amateur theatricals, movies and other entertainments for Huachuca's 25,000 soldiers. Wherever possible, these diversions were taken right into the field to boost morale. Thus, after a hard day's soldiering, men might be treated to a movie worked out of a portable projector from a communications van or have a campfire sing led by a visiting celebrity musician. The latter does seem rather incongruous, but it did happen upon occasion.

Also used as a morale builder was "Bill" (the Buffalo), generally referred to as "Buffalo Bill." This animal was a 1600-pound male bison from a range in Oklahoma and, according to his trainer, Sergeant Austin Valentine, had "the manners and instincts of a lap dog." The yearling and Valentine were "naturals" for each other. Valentine had been with a circus before enlisting in the army, and "Bill" doted on him, following him around like a puppy and eating

from his hand. Once, Valentine gave Bill a handful of carrots, put him in his pen and went off to the N.C.O. club. Hours later he started for home only to run into his hulking companion just outside the main door, standing motionless in the shadows. Bill had lifted the lock on his corral gate and followed Valentine to the club. Valentine gave him an extra handful of carrots and put him back to bed.

Still, Bill was no patsy for everyone. Those assuming docility were sometimes surprised at Bill's fierce snorting and "charging stance." He was a favorite at football games, parades and ceremonies.

As might be expected, with 25,000 men milling around a single installation, problems arose, problems brought on by boredom, loneliness, marital troubles, family crises and so on, ad infinitum. Private soldiers received 50 dollars per month, but after commitments and deductions of one sort or another generally wound up with less than half of that sum. In many cases that meant gambling, borrowing money at unsurious rates or stealing. That is where the M.P.'s came in.

At Huachuca in 1943 there were 144 hand-picked men in the M.P. Company, all over six feet in height and all physically fit. Maj. William M. Campbell was the Provost Marshall and used his men wisely. His theory was that it was better for everyone, all the way around, to avoid trouble rather than punish miscreants. Hence, Campbell's MP's were armed only with billy clubs, not side arms. Heads were cracked occasionally, but no one was ever shot. Interestingly, three MP's came from the British West Indies and three from the French West Indies; all had previous police experience.

All of Campbell's MP's took special training in judo, traffic control, cooperation with civil authorities and courts martial procedure, in addition to the regular exhaustive training of the soldier. The MP's disciplined themselves by putting themselves "on the spot" - a red circle painted on the floor in front of Campbell's desk. For infractions of the stern MP code, errant policemen could be, and sometimes were, sent back to line duty.

The MP's were links in the chain of a rather remarkable disciplinary program at Fort Huachuca. When an MP arrested a man, the man had a choice. He could go to the post stockade or to the Post Rehabilitation Camp. The latter was a program designed by Maj. Gen. Wood, the Assistant Division Commander, who had inaugurated the system at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, for the 41st Engineer Company.



Sgt. Austin Valentine and "Buffalo Bill."

Prisoners sent to the "Rehab" camp were called "students" and were placed on rigid soldierly duty from 5 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. daily, seven days a week. The camp was removed from other post facilities. It was entirely under canvas - hospital tents for the messes, walled tents for administration, pyramidal tents for personnel, and canvas flies for the kitchens. At no time were students confined behind barbed wire or guarded by men with weapons. They worked on a merit system and by hard work and good behavior could earn passes to movies, football games and other post recreational activities. The man's attitude at his trial had much to do with where he was sent to serve his sentence. Gen. Wood operated under the theory that most military offenses were due to carelessness and ignorance, and that the possibility of reclaiming manpower was generally good. Said the officer in charge of the Rehabilitation Camp:

The purpose of this place is to reclaim those who are susceptible and to do it by strict but kindly disciplinary action. Basic military training offers the most effect means of reclamation....The work is hard and the hours long, but throughout the aim is to develop self-respect, and to encourage the student to become a good soldier.¹³

It worked. Hard nosed "brig-rats" scoffed at the "girl's school" and did time in the stockade. Fortunately, these hard bitten cases were a minority. Some months after the center was established, figures were published. Of 438 men sent to "Rehab," 54 percent were A.W.O.L. cases, and 24 percent had committed serious infractions contrary to the Articles of War. Of that number, 149 men were released before their sentence was up. None of these became repeaters. Of the 136 who finished out sentences, 19 did repeat, but 14 of these were for minor offenses. Five tough hombres had to be sent to the stockade. Gen. Almond made certain that men sent through the Rehabilitation Center were not forgotten once back on regular duty. The gesture was not intended to harass, rather to guide and ascertain that men stayed on the right track. Most did.

Notwithstanding the fact that post officials did everything possible to keep soldiers entertained and happy at Fort Huachuca, soldiers exercised the age-old prerogative of looking for diversion and comfort off base. Adjoining Huachuca was a small cluster of buildings named Fry, described by the Post Commander, Col. Hardy, as a "small, rather sordid town."¹⁴ As the post grew with the influx of soldiers from other army establishments, so did Fry.

It became a boom town of tents and ramshackle buildings filled with prostitutes and sleazy bars. Some post officials compared Fry with Tombstone in the latter's heyday, but noted that Fry was probably tougher. The place was a "natural" for trouble. Brawls were frequent and knifings were not uncommon. Indicative of the explosive character of the place was the case of Harry Dooley, a civilian of Fry who was entertaining in his home one evening. A soldier, AWOL from the post, entered the Dooley house and horrified its occupants by laying Dooley's skull open with an axe. Sheriff I.V. Pruitt arrested the murderer and turned him over to post authorities.¹⁵

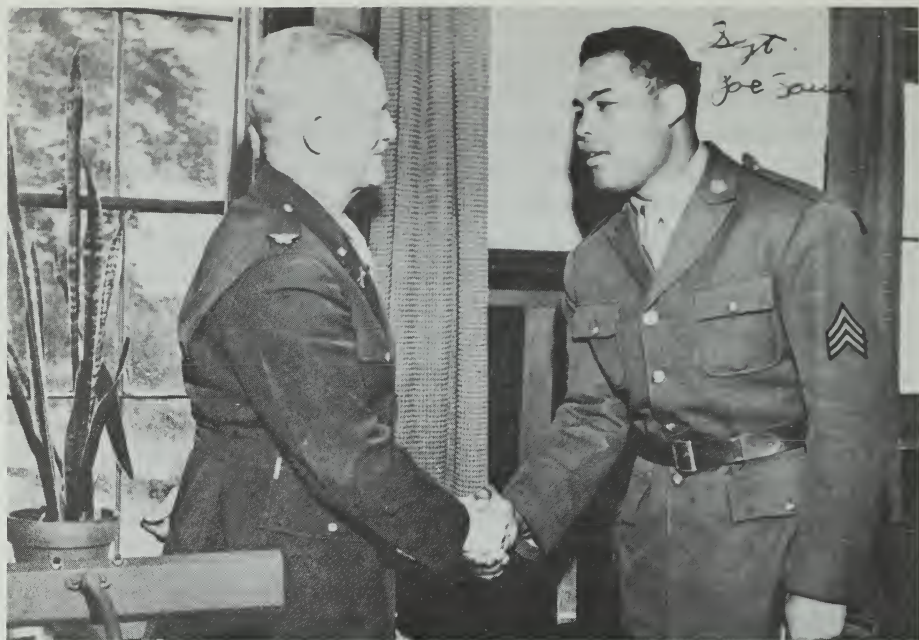
Col. Hardy secured the cooperation of state authorities to clean out the prostitute area and close some of the more troublesome bistros. The troubles continued. Hardy put all liquor stores off limits, and that started traffic in bootlegging.

Hardy then interested a black entrepreneurial group in Chicago in establishing an amusement center in Fry. The place was designed by the noted black architect, Paul Williams, of Los Angeles, and because of its domed oval roof was dubbed "Green Top" by the soldiers. It opened its doors in March 1943, costing the government about \$100,000 for construction. A handsome mural entitled "Peace with Victory" was painted by William E. Scott, a Chicago artist. The mural ran for some distance behind a bar 120 feet long, one of the longest in the country at that time. No hard liquor was served, but the place was generally filled with soldiers drinking beer. Consumption of beer at the "Green Top" amounted to about two and one-half carloads of draft beer monthly.

Waitresses were a problem. Paid 60 dollars a month to serve beer and soft drinks to customers, they averaged about \$200 per month in tips and frequently quit after a month or so to spend their money elsewhere. Also, some gravitated into the oldest profession, ushering in a new cycle of concern for the overworked MP's.

Oddly, a portion of the Green Top was used as living quarters for some 25 black officers and their wives. The space had been designed for use by employees, but so critical was the housing situation that rooms were assigned to division personnel rather than Green Top workers.

One commercial motion picture theater, a few stores, several houses and a U.S.O. building completed the community of Fry. The U.S.O. building, still standing in forlorn dignity just outside Fort



Col. Edwin Hardy, Post Commander, and Sgt. Joe Louis, May, 1943.



Lena Horne, Fort Huachuca, August, 1943.



Dinah Shore, Fort Huachuca, 1942.

Huachuca's Main Gate, was well attended in its heyday, playing host to such luminaries as Dinah Shore, Lena Horne, Pearl Bailey, Hattie McDaniels, Joe Louis, Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong and many other stars of stage and screen.

On August 23, 1943, Lena Horne dedicated post theater number five with a feature showing of her latest release, "Stormy Weather." Well known to the public for her musical productions "Panama Hattie" and "Cabin in the Sky," Miss Horne was a favorite with wartime audiences. She appeared at several showings and was greeted with tumultuous applause on each occasion. She was crowned with a wreath of white roses and named "Sweetheart of the 92nd Division." The theater stood for some years and ultimately was torn down by the War Assets Administration in 1949.

Hospital facilities at Fort Huachuca were impressive in 1943. Total bed capacity for the two hospitals was 1,141 beds, and there were three dental infirmaries with about 50 chairs. One corridor, connecting hospital "wings," was over 4,000 feet long. Colonel Edwin B. Maynard directed medical activities on post and commanded hospital number two. Maynard was responsible for surgical procedures, medical supply, medical inspections, out-patient service, venereal disease control, nutritional programs, veterinary services, records and other items pertaining to the medical service.

Lieutenant Colonel M. D. Bousfield commanded hospital number one with its 946-bed capacity. It was there that special training programs inaugurated by the Surgeon General's office were carried on. Several noted specialists served on Bousfield's staff: Major De Haven Hinkson, ex-commander of a hospital in Tuskegee; Major Roscoe C. Giles, the first black graduate from Cornell University's Medical College; and Major Maurice M. Shaw, chief surgeon from the University of Chicago. The list included Major William E. Allen, member of the American Board of Roentgenologists; Major Harold W. Thatcher, graduate of the University of Minnesota (a specialist in dermatology and syphilology); and Major Raphael Hernandez, chief of the neuropsychiatric division. Rounding out the specialist's group was Captain William A. Wethers, chief of the urological section, who had come on post in May 1942 and organized his section from the ground up. His was the largest single unit in the hospital, consisting of a 17-man clinic, office building and three separate wards. Personnel of his staff accomplished an average of 10,000 procedures per month during 1943 and the early months of 1944. In addition to

routine work, the section engaged in experimental penicillin therapy.

A large corps of thoroughly trained and dedicated nurses served in the hospitals at Huachuca. Many of these women returned to the troop reunion in June 1975, to meet again after many years of separation and to reminisce.

The division had come to Huachuca in April and May and trained diligently for seven months; it was time to widen the scope of training by engaging in extended maneuvers in the countryside around the post.

Early in December 1943, the division moved into the field some miles out of Fort Huachuca for "D" exercises, the final training phase prior to maneuvers in Louisiana. The weather conditions were not conducive to physical comfort, and often as not the food was full of sand and grit. It became evident at once that maintaining equipment in the garrison was a lot easier than caring for it in the field. Rifles jammed and misfired, jeeps and recons broke down, and communications equipment failed. Better to learn it here than in combat against the Germans.

Late in January 1944, the division went to Louisiana for maneuvers. By February the entire division had assembled near Merryville, Louisiana, and training was resumed. Veterans of the 92nd will recall the endless rain and mud, and the hard work of rounding into shape for combat. The Sabine River exercises are probably etched as deeply in the minds of 92nd Division veterans as the Serchio and Po River crossings in Italy. Before the division returned to Fort Huachuca, Gen. Almond addressed the men, praising them for accomplishments during the maneuver period.

Back at Huachuca, the 370th Regimental Combat Team made ready for early movement overseas. This strike force, comprised of the 370th Infantry Regiment, 598th Field Artillery Battalion and selected detachments, was commanded by Colonel Raymond G. Sherman and was considered as one of the best units of the division. It left Fort Huachuca on June 15, 1944, and arrived in Naples, Italy, on August 1st. Twenty-three days later it was in combat, participating in the crossing of the Arno River, and occupying Lucca near the German Gothic Line. As Task Force 92, elements of the division attacked the Ligurian Coastal flank toward Massa in October. In November this group moved to the Serchio River and advanced down the Serchio River Valley. An attempt to capture

Castelnuovo failed. The Germans were dug in solidly. It was in November 1944 that the 372nd Infantry Regiment came to Huachuca to join the 92nd division.

The first full attack as a division was made by the 92nd in February 1945. The division kicked off from the Fiume-La Force Line, some three and one-half miles south of the enemy stronghold at Massa. Objective of the attack was Monte Canale, a high peak dominating the entire coastal terrain. The division suffered heavy losses.

On April 1st, the 370th RCT and the 442nd Infantry Regiment (Nisei) attacked in the Ligurian Coastal sector and drove north rapidly. The 370th took over the Serchio sector and pursued the Germans until the collapse of enemy resistance on April 29th. Elements of the division entered La Spezia and Genoa on April 27th and occupied selected towns along the Ligurian Coast until the enemy surrender on May 2nd. The division left for home on November 16, 1945, and was deactivated at Camp Kilmer on November 28th.

Like the 93rd which had preceded it at Fort Huachuca, the 92nd had its problems, but, like the 93rd it gave a creditable account of itself in combat overseas. Veterans of both outfits have separate memories of experiences in foreign places, but all have the common denominators of listening to "Chattanooga Choo-Choo," "Deep Purple," and "Frenese" from the jukeboxes at Huachuca's wartime PX. Also, they share common memories of long chow lines, powdered eggs and canned spam, booster shots, and sitting around "day rooms" reading old magazines. It happened a long time ago, but the memories are fresh.

IS FORT HUACHUCA THROUGH?

After V-J Day, Fort Huachuca faced the prospect of oblivion. For the first time since its inception in 1877, it had no function. Men had mustered out of the service in what the Army Chief of Staff termed "a hysterical demobilization." In 1947, therefore, the War Assets Administration declared the post surplus and started to dismantle and sell the temporary structures which had housed the wartime divisions. The proud old post was deactivated on September 15, 1947, and would not come under federal control again until January 1951.

Upon release of Fort Huachuca as an active military establishment, the Federal Government turned control of the property over to the Arizona Fish and Game Department. Since there were no more people around, except for a few caretakers, the commission decided to use the post as a buffalo preserve. Accordingly, in May 1949, a herd of 114 selected bulls and cows were brought in and literally "turned loose." The animals were obtained from ranges in Montana and Wyoming, and from the department's ranch at House Rock Valley.

These bison traced their lineage to herds once owned by the famous and colorful "Buffalo Jones," who had moved his beasts around to California, Kansas and Utah before settling in the Kaibab plateau in Northern Arizona in 1905.¹ Experiments were made to cross buffalo with cattle for beef stock, and although a hybrid animal was created, the "Catalo," the experiment was generally unsuccessful. Hence, in 1909, most of Jones' herd was shipped off to Mexico. Some dozen animals were kept in Arizona and became the property of an old cowboy, "Uncle Jimmy" Owens. By 1927 the herd had increased to about 100 head and was sold to the Arizona Wildlife Commission for \$10,000.

At Huachuca the herd prospered. In the beginning they were kept together in a single herd, but after a while control became a problem, and the animals were divided into three groups and put to graze in

Huachuca's south, west and east ranges. By early 1954 there were some 450 beasts roaming Huachuca's ranges from the original herd of 114. By then the post had been reactivated to serve the 417th and 419th Aviation Brigades, and the 45th, 304th, 923rd and 934th Engineer Aviation Groups in support of the Korean War.²

There was no particular problem at first, since the Aviation Engineers did not use the ranges. Also, any "conflict" between man and beast was rendered less likely when a buffalo hunt was held in order to crop the herd to 200 animals. This was a move decided upon by the Fish and Game Department to manage the herd and keep it from over-grazing Huachuca's range facility.

When the post was inactivated for the second time, on June 30, 1953, the buffalo became sole "proprietors" of the post once more. But not for long. Early in 1954, the U.S. Army Signal Corps was looking for a place to move to, away from the crowded facility at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. Fort Huachuca, with housing and office facilities, plenty of wide open space for drones to fly about, and excellent weather conditions, was a natural choice for the Signal Corps people. The post was reactivated on February 1, 1954, to serve as the U.S. Army Electronic Proving Ground.

Major General Emil Lenzner became the facility's commander, and under his leadership the proving ground expanded quickly. With this growth came a need to use the ranges, until now the sole preserve of the great shaggy buffalo, roaming the hills and valleys in lordly isolation. Not only were the ranges to be used for training purposes, but as sites for the construction of housing for USAEPG personnel.

It became apparent that buffalo and people do not mix. The big, shaggy fellows thought nothing at all of knocking down laundry lines, trampling gardens, making wallows out of lawns, and scaring the wits out of adults and children alike with 2,000 pounds of immovable animal on the hoof.

Once a bull fell into a water hole and got mired there. Soldiers placed a sling under the bull's belly and began to heave him out. No dice. The men then got a bulldozer and proceeded to push dirt into the hole so that the trapped animal could get a better footing. As the bull made ready to emerge, the apprehensive soldiers got into a "6-By" truck for safety. And none too soon. The bull lurched out of his muddy cage and charged the truck head on ramming its horns and tough skull into the grill, headlights, doors, and, bumper - not once, but again and again. The fearful soldiers, good Samaritans all, bounced around in the cab like peas in a pod.

Plainly, the buffalo had to go, but where? Zoos were plentifully stocked, ranchers were wary of taking on the huge creatures, and none of the national parks contacted showed interest. A second hunt was staged by the Fish and Game Commission, and some buffalo were shot by successful nimrods. The Raymond Ranch near Flagstaff took some 35 or 40, and a dozen or more were given to the State of Sonora, Mexico. Some buffalo escaped the hunt and the dispersion as described above and simply wandered off into the hills. For years stories of sightings were heard, but it has been more than a decade since the last sighting was reported.

In 1950 a Johnny-on-the-spot outfit got into the Fort Huachuca picture under the title "Huachuca Enterprises." Headed by John Pintek, a Bisbee lawyer and state senator from Cochise County, the group consisted of professional and businessmen from the general Southeastern Arizona area.

It was during the regular session of the 19th Legislature in 1949 that Pintek secured the enactment of Bill 139, a proposal which authorized the acceptance of Fort Huachuca as a gift to Arizona from the Federal Government.

Predictably, some legislators felt that the gift would turn out to be a white elephant until it was pointed out that federal maintenance allotments alone would assure self-sustenance.³ It was argued that the state and a non-profit organization such as Huachuca Enterprises would be better guarantors of Huachuca's heritage than some private monopoly. Thus, the passage of Senate Bill 139 was effected in March 1949, transferring ownership of Fort Huachuca to the state of Arizona.

Fort Huachuca Enterprises drew up its articles of incorporation so as to preclude the possibility of development for individual or private gain. A ten-year lease agreement for rental of properties could be entered into, with right of renewal for another similar period and so on. The idea was approved by the governor of the state.

In the space leased by the corporation were some 500 one-to-five bedroom houses available for lease-rental. The beautiful old officer's quarters along Grierson Avenue would rent for the sum of \$75 per month.⁴ This included five bedrooms, three baths, laundry room, separate maid's quarters, large screened porch and spacious grounds. Lesser quarters rented for as little as \$10 per month.

The only drawback to these ridiculously low rates was the fact that the area was isolated and offered but limited opportunity for



Quarters number 1, traditional home of the post commander at Fort Huachuca. Now "Pershing House," quarters number 137, building number 22126.

earning a living. Tombstone, Bisbee and Douglas were small and far enough removed so that commuting could be a problem. Nonetheless, Huachuca Enterprises pointed out that light industry could be introduced into the area because of the existence of a power plant, ice-making plant, bakeries, dry cleaning plants, and meat-cutting and packing plants. The corporation also advertised warehouses, storage space and repair shop space. Also, the water supply seemed more than adequate, and Pintek's people reported that when Huachuca's facilities were strained to the limit with 25,000 soldiers in 1943, the largest single-day consumption was just under four million gallons, well below the 5,400,000 gallon capacity of the post's wells and natural springs.

This was all well and attractive, and a few people did move in. But not many and not for long. In January 1951 the U.S. Air Force regained Fort Huachuca from the state of Arizona in support of the Korean War effort. The post was reactivated formally on April 20, 1951. A halt was made to the influx of renters under the Huachuca Enterprises System, and those already in place were moved out. One of the first tasks essayed by the Corps of Engineers was the building of Libby Airfield, honoring Sergeant George P. Libby, Medal of Honor winner in Korea. Here the Aviation Engineer Brigades learned to erect the airfields which would be constructed for American aviation units in Korea.

In 1953, as the war wound down in Korea, Huachuca was closed again. The date of inactivation was June 30. For the next seven months only a few caretakers walked the lonely streets of the ghostly post, and off in the distance buffalo munched contentedly on sweet mountain grass. Then, on February 1, 1954, the place was reactivated and put under the control of the Army's Chief Signal Officer. It was time for the United States Army Electronic Proving Ground (USAEPG) facility to move in and start a whole new era.

ENTER THE ELECTRONIC ERA

For the better part of 100 years, Fort Huachuca had served the army and the nation, and then, with the end of the Second World War, it appeared as though the post's usefulness was at an end. Fate decreed otherwise; the post would put aside its role as training station for infantry, mechanized cavalry and artillery, and specialize in electronic warfare.

This brought about an entirely new concept in the art of war and has made military men conscious of new dimensions: management techniques, cost accounting, technological advances and other exigencies of 20th century military life hitherto unheard of. Perforce, commanders have become specialists in not one, but several fields, and at Huachuca have had to learn a new military jargon, a language made up of such acronyms as USACC, AUTOSEVOCOM, USARCCO, USACOMISA, and an absolute forest of undistinguishable word puzzles. The well turned literary phrase of a Gen. Crook or Miles has given way to the alphabet soup initialing craze, the garbled memo, the unreadable report, the graph and table, the briefing chart. It cannot be otherwise. Systems change so regularly and time darts by so quickly that commanders can no longer conduct business in anything but cryptic terms. A pity, but as a sage once observed: "What can't be cured, must be endured."

As early as World War II, military electronics was making rapid and sensational strides as a weapon of war. German "buzz bombs" threatened to alter the course of the war as they rained down upon England from launching pads across the English Channel. Luftwaffe aircraft rode beams over British targets from electronic equipment in France, Holland, Belgium and Norway. To the consternation of the RAF, whose pilots were "day-bound" at first, German fliers flew electronic beams in good weather or foul, during the day or at night, and seemed irrepressible. German pilots released bomb loads with terrifying success, until the British discovered ways to jam the electronic beams enough to throw bombers several miles off target.

The electronics warfare game was in its infancy and both sides had a long way to go, but a whole new concept was at hand, and neither side could afford to ignore it.

By the time Korea rolled around, electronic warfare was an established fact, though still in the process of refinement. In 1952 a group of scientists visited the war zone in Korea and interviewed some 1,000 officers and enlisted men of the Eighth Army. Their purpose was to ascertain how electronic equipment could assist the war effort. They were told. "Give us," said those interviewed, "battlefield illumination, night vision devices, land mine detectors, front line photography, accurate weather forecasting, and reliable radio intercept mechanisms." The men made a special request for some device which could locate mortars and artillery pieces used against them. By recorded count, more than 80 percent of U.S. and allied battle casualties were caused by enemy mortars and artillery pieces.

Battle exercises in the states proved that radio jamming could so foul up normal communications so as to render tactical response meaningless. And these were only exercises. Of far greater significance was the fact that the enemy had electronic warfare capabilities of such magnitude as to demand a maximum response from us if we were to prevail in a contest of arms. Without that effort we would be hopelessly behind in the fields of cover and deception, radar homing hardware and defense against guided missiles.

Clearly, an experimental station of some magnitude was essential. Where should it be located? Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, was conducting work in the electronics field, but the place was unsuitable. There were too many radio stations in the area interfering with the electromagnetic spectrum. Also messing up the spectrum were airline communications nets and television channels. Whenever the army held exercises, commercial messages were jammed and TV programs were ruined. Also, the Fort Monmouth area was too urban, too "built-up." The Army needed room and lots of it.

Fort Huachuca was a natural choice. It was available; it was a huge installation; it had facilities; and it was relatively free from electromagnetic interference owing to its isolated position. Hence, the decision was made to move the electronics proving ground to Fort Huachuca. All units would be relieved from attachment to the 9408th Technical Service Unit and, upon arrival at Fort Huachuca, attached to Headquarters, U.S. Army Electronic Proving Ground.

First to arrive was the 1st Signal Group which came on post in May 1954. The outfit had been activated on January 24, 1946, as the 1st Signal Service Group, at Camp Crowder, Missouri. Redesignated as Headquarters, 1st Signal Service Group, it was allotted to the Regular Army on March 29, 1949. In August 1952, the organization was inactivated at Camp San Luis Obispo, California, and redesignated Headquarters, 1st Signal Group (Electronic Warfare) on June 9, 1953. It was reactivated at Fort Monmouth on July 1, 1953, as a general reserve class III unit, assigned to the Chief Signal Officer and attached to the 9408th Technical Service Unit, Signal Corps Electronic Warfare Center.

Under the Command of Colonel Randolph V. Fite, movement of the 1st Signal Group (EW) from Monmouth to Huachuca was made without incident. Once on post, men of the group launched into a vigorous training program.

Next to arrive was the 505th Signal Group, comprised of Headquarters Detachment, 232nd Signal Company, and the 303rd Signal Battalion. The latter organization, commanded by Major Edward C. Vernon, came rolling into Huachuca in truck convoy from Fort Hood, Texas, early in July 1954.

The mission of USAEPG is three-fold: to conduct engineer tests of communications - electronics equipment and systems; to conduct user tests of this equipment, both as individual devices and as systems; to prepare and develop command control systems. What that all boils down to is to assure the quality, performance, and ruggedness of electronic devices used by the combat soldier. To show how far the men of Huachuca have come since Indian scouts carried hand-written notes in saddle bags, USAEPG trainees worked in electronic surveillance, avionics, automatic data processing, meteorology and other esoteric areas.

The proving ground is one of 14 activities and installations of TECOM, the Army's Test and Evaluation Command, which in turn is a major part of the Army Materiel Command. Testing is perhaps the chief feature of USAEPG activity and much of it is done at Huachuca. Among the major test projects begun were an automatic electronic switchboard, a mobile radio-central and tropospheric scatter radio transmission. Also, field testing in combat surveillance equipment was an early feature, wherein men worked with devices which would provide 'round the clock, all-weather locating capability for enemy equipment and personnel. That included almost any electro-mechanical device, airborne or on the ground, which could

provide an accurate and quick examination of the combat area and the sky above it. Projects included drone flights, guidance and control systems, ground and airborne radar, and photo transmission systems.

In the field of electronic warfare, USAEPG tested devices meant to disrupt an opponent's communications and so reduce his combat potential. These were (and are) known as ECM, electronic counter measures. On the theory that any potential enemy is as clever as we are, testing was made on equipment which would protect our own communications systems from interference. Predictably, this became known as CCM, counter-counter measures. And so it goes.

Aviation and electronics were natural "partners" and quickly merged into the program of avionics, wherein tests were conducted on navigation systems, air traffic regulation, flight instrumentation and stabilization, and aircraft identification.

As automation was introduced into the tactical field army, a fire support system was devised in which automatic data processing equipment was employed to refine first-round artillery accuracy. This negated the expensive and time consuming practice of "bracketing," wherein gun commanders purposefully fired rounds "over" and "under" targets in efforts to pinpoint.

An additional function at Huachuca was the furnishing of meteorological support to army research and development projects. Teams were sent to Greenland and as far south as the Panama Canal Zone where they assisted the Army's quartermaster, transportation and engineer corps in special testing exercises.

In addition to all of the testing listed above, USAEPG personnel at Huachuca provided test facilities for DOD and NATO agencies. The command provided information on the electromagnetic compatibility of army equipment (and some foreign army gear) throughout the material life cycle.

The proving ground's area of operation includes not only the facilities at Fort Huachuca, but the Electromagnetic Environmental Test Facility (EMETF) operated under contract in Tucson, and a multitude of field test sites stretched all over southern Arizona. The EMETF facilities have been used by NASA to evaluate and improve the communications system of the Apollo Lunar Mission.

In 1960 the U.S. Army Security Agency Test and Evaluation Center (USASETEC) came to Fort Huachuca. The mission of that organization was to test and evaluate newly developed equipment and systems brought about by research and development programs

within the Army Security Agency. The outfit was attached to Headquarters Fort Huachuca, for logistical support, administrative assistance and the administration of military justice. It was a major subordinate command of the Army Security Agency with headquarters in Arlington Hall Station, Arlington, Virginia.

In 1964 the U.S. Army Combat Surveillance and Target Acquisition Training Command, USACSTATC, was organized at Fort Huachuca with the mission of providing training for individuals and units in the use, operation, and maintenance of combat surveillance and target acquisition equipment. It was concerned primarily with drones, pilotless aircraft, airborne radar, tracking and plotting radar, and ground surveillance radar - anything, in fact, which would give U.S. troops an intelligence edge on enemy troops in combat. With the dispersion of troops under atomic attack, friendly forces will require increased battlefield surveillance and by electronic and other means need to extend the range of human senses of sight, hearing and smell. One of the obvious extensions, of course, is TV, and work is being done in that quarter. The USACSTATC people worked long hours to develop a battlefield TV system with cameras on the ground and in the air to bring the tactical situation to the commander before a TV set in his command post.

Each piece of surveillance hardware was vitally important. Airborne radar flew over simulated battlefields to monitor combat situations previously unavailable to unit commanders. Tracking and plotting radar monitored and controlled the flight pattern of both manned and unmanned aircraft and drones to predetermined pinpoint areas. Ground surveillance radar became the eyes and ears of field commanders.

Students training with drones were expected to become proficient in launch operation, airframe and engine maintenance, and drone maneuverability. These, and the electromagnetic features which control them, are most important functions. One can visualize, for example, an enemy rocket aimed at an American industrial center, guided by some homing device and set to detonate at a predetermined altitude over the target. The people at USAEPG keep this spectre in mind constantly and think of ways to turn the rocket from its path or to explode it before it reaches the target.

The Headquarters Detachment, 11th Signal Battalion (EW), was activated at Fort Huachuca on July 15, 1954, by General Order Number 25, Headquarters, USAEPG, dated July 8, 1954. It was attached to the 1st Signal Group, and prior to its activation at

Huachuca had been constituted on July 1, 1944, as the 318th Signal Service Battalion at Camp Kohler, California. It was reorganized and redesignated the 318th Signal Service Company on December 1, 1946, and put through a similar process to become the 318th Signal Service Battalion on April 29, 1947. It was deactivated on April 12, 1950, in Okinawa, and remained so until redesignation at Fort Huachuca in 1954 as described above.

The 11th Signal Group, as presently operating at Fort Huachuca, is organized to support worldwide communication contingencies, and its members are proud of the constant state of readiness which assures that they will be able to serve "anytime, anywhere." The 11th Signal Group came to Huachuca from Fort Lewis, Washington, in 1966 and is far and away the largest command on post, consisting of one battalion and four separate companies. The companies are Headquarters, Mobile Operations (DCS), 521st Signal (high frequency terminal operations), and the 526th Signal (tropospheric scatter). The 40th Signal Battalion (construction) was activated on January 22, 1973, with Headquarters and A and B Companies. These companies provide the United States Army Communications Command (USACC) the worldwide capability for installing and maintaining outside plant communications systems in support of stations, camps, cities, towns or contingency operations.

Men of the 40th Signal Battalion have responded to numerous emergencies calling for quick installation of communications. Examples include aid in the civil disaster of a rampaging tornado in Rapid City, South Dakota, assistance to hurricane and flood victims at Biloxi, Mississippi, and Corpus Christi, Texas. The battalion provided communications for flood victims in Elmira, New York, and Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, and communications support to task forces after civil disorders at New Haven, Connecticut, and Wounded Knee, South Dakota. When civil disorder threatened to erupt at the Republican National Convention in 1972, members of the 40th Signal Battalion went to Florida to provide communications if needed. The riots failed to materialize, but the soldiers of Huachuca were ready for any eventuality.

The U.S. Army Strategic Communications Command (STRATCOM) was formed on March 1, 1964, and assigned to the Army's Chief Signal Officer, General Meyer. It was created to establish strong central, single management of all the Army's long distance communications. In order to assure effective control and to make quick response to army needs, Gen. Meyer distributed

responsibilities among a number of subordinate commands. The first of these was COM-PACIFIC located at Schofield Barracks in Oahu, Hawaii, and controlling a huge sweep of STRATCOM operations in Japan, Korea, Okinawa and Taiwan. Now, troposcatter, ionoscatter, submarine cable and satellite relays bind the entire Pacific area into the commander's span of control. In addition to the places named above, Hawaii, Thailand and the Philippines are served.

On July 1, 1964, STRATCOM-Europe became the second major subcommand with headquarters in Schwetzingen, Germany, near Heidelberg. That installation controlled not only German stations, but others in Africa, Turkey and Iran.

On August 30, 1965, STRATCOM-South entered the inventory with headquarters in the Panama Canal Zone. The installation there controls stations in Central and South America. The need for communications in that quarter became apparent during the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 when President Kennedy could not reach Latin American heads of state. The gap resulted in the Latin American Military Communications System with stations installed from Chile to Guatemala, some as high as 15,000 feet as in Bolivia.

On April 1, 1966, STRATCOM reached out once more and established the 1st Signal Brigade, USASTRATCOM, with headquarters in Saigon. The brigade went to work at once installing communications systems in Vietnam, Thailand and in places where none had existed before. By all odds, these and other nets set up throughout the two countries by STRATCOM personnel, constituted the most elaborate and sophisticated ever known in any theater of war.

The youngest subcommand was STRATCOM-Alaska, coming into the inventory on April 1, 1967. In this instance, STRATCOM assumed command of all signal units and facilities providing communications from the theater army level down to the Yukon Command, 171st and 172nd Infantry Brigades, 19th Aviation Battalion and lesser units. Headquarters for USARAL was established at Fort Richardson, Alaska.

One of the hallmarks of STRATCOM's growth under Meyer was the effective control over subcommands. This did not always please subordinate commanders, but it assured a workable and well integrated operational policy.

In April 1967, STRATCOM moved from its scattered location in several buildings in Washington, D.C. to the brand new complex designed for it at Fort Huachuca - Greely Hall. One of the



Greely Hall, Fort Huachuca, Headquarters U.S. Army Communications Command.

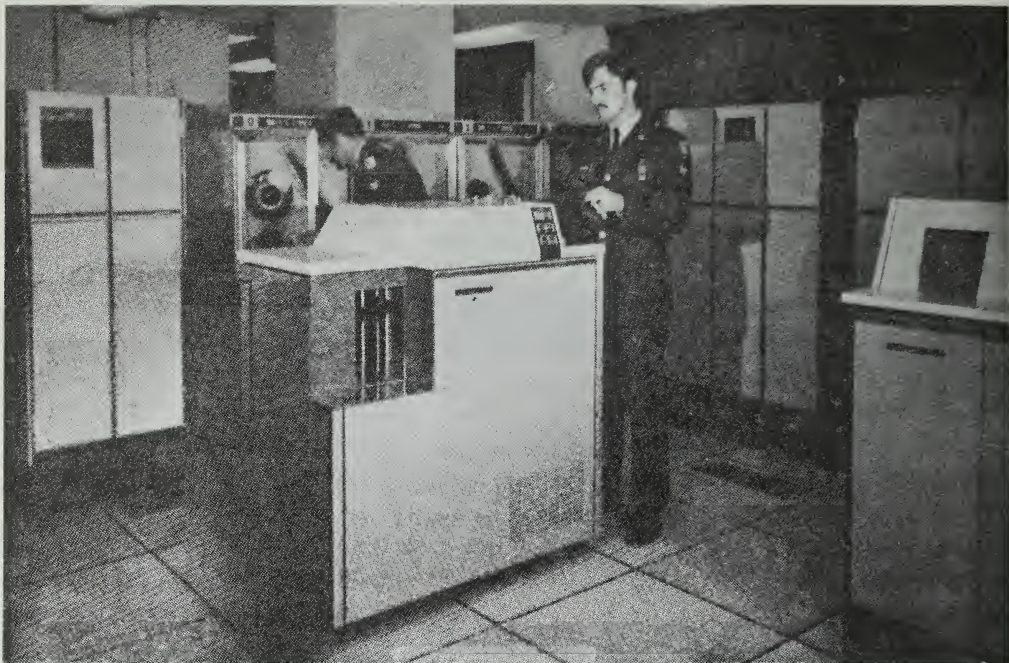
command's primary efforts since settling in at Fort Huachuca has been to engineer, install, and operate the Army's portion of the global Defense Communications System (DCS), a vast network providing voice and record communications for army personnel in the continental U.S. and overseas. These systems include the Automatic Digital Network (AUTODIN), a computerized message and data switching system. Autodin is a high-speed network which serves the communications needs of army operations, logistics and administration. A "store and forward" system, it senses automatically the destination of important messages and speeds them on their way with print-out speeds of up to 3,200 words per minute. Humans act as monitors only, but provide message input on tapes and cards.

Automatic Voice Network (AUTOVON) is a world wide direct dialing telephone system, bringing direct dial phone communication to military users. Its high quality circuits permit conference calls, hot lines and, naturally, priority interruptions.

The Automatic Secure Voice Communication System (AUTOSEVOCOM) is one that permits discussion of classified matters by telephone.

In 1974, the acronym STRATCOM was replaced by USACC, standing for United States Army Communications Command. High ranking army officials were apparently not enamored with the "strategic" aspects of communicating and so reduced the command's title to its essentials. This command is literally "the voice of the Army." Before its inception, communications resources of the army were controlled by individual units and commanders. In addition to the exercise of command, the CO was charged with managing his own signal network - no easy task. Moreover, since there was no focal point, communications were not only fragmented, but unacceptably slow. In a world of nuclear missiles, where minutes and seconds count, the old system simply couldn't hack it.

Put simply, the mission of the command is to communicate. Communication is the key to moving men and equipment, and to ascertain that they are at the right place at the right time. Hence, communication is literally the voice of command. It provides military commanders with a rapid and reliable system which translates information into action. Guided by computers, the system leaps oceans, crosses continents, and probes into outer space to carry messages which provide for national safety and defense.



Multi-media terminal



Tech control center

The task of the Army Communications command is a 24-hour per day, worldwide role. It has some 45,000 personnel stationed in 20 countries. The system handles over 90 million messages each year over a circuit network of almost 6 million miles. Its inventory is in excess of \$2 billion. Largest of the overseas command elements is the 5th Signal Command, operating across Europe and the Middle East in countries like West Germany, Italy, Turkey, England, Iran, The Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Saudi Arabia.

United States forces in Europe and the Mid-East are linked by a vast communications network with signal sites from London to Ethiopia. Its largest component is the European Wide Band Communications System (EWCS), a mesh of troposcatter, microwave and landline communications. Key users include all Army, Navy and Air Force headquarters in Europe, and the Commanders-in-Chief Europe (CINCEUR) and Mid-East and South Africa.

Within the Military Assistance Program, USACC works with foreign governments to modernize and improve their communications systems. A key part of the USACC mission is the continuing operation of the Washington-Moscow hot-line, a system which could avert worldwide tragedy in the case of misunderstanding of a military and political nature. Also, USACC gives communications-electronic support to the Decision Information Distribution System (DIDS) and the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, formerly called the Office of Civil Defense.

The goal of USACC, hopefully to be achieved before 1980, is to have one system which will take the place of three. Planners envision voice, secure voice, and written message traffic integrated into a single computerized network with an added audio-visual capability. That will take some doing, but the engineers are working on it. The concept is about as esoteric as the U.S. Army Satellite Communications Agency (SATCOM) which operates a network of relays which drift slowly around the earth some 20,000 miles out in space.

Bears for figures will be impressed by the fact that at the Fort Detrick, Maryland, relay station, a USACC subcommand, 500 million data cards were handled in the first six months of operation in 1974. Peak traffic in one day saw the use of just under four million cards. During the Vietnam conflict more than 300,000 telephone calls were made each year to American field and support personnel. During the Tet Offensive voice and data traffic in the USACC system doubled,

and teletype traffic tripled to over six million messages in a single month.

Should an enemy ever attack the United States with nuclear weapons, a nation-wide, USACC-operated signal network would go into action at once. From their national warning centers, alerts would flash to eight separate civil defense regions, and within minutes sirens and air raid warning would alert Americans in cities and towns across the land.

Obviously, electronics has ushered in an entirely new phase of responsibility at Fort Huachuca. The world turns, and the army must keep pace with the requirements occasioned by change. It does. It seems like a long stride from the days of the heliograph, and it is. Now that the old post is concerned with global communications, its people are shooting for the stars. They will succeed.

The Safeguard Communications Agency (SAFCA) was inaugurated at Fort Huachuca on June 16, 1969. Its mission was to develop a communications system for the SAFEGUARD missile system. After exploratory examination of existing systems, SAFCA initiated contracts for the acquisition of leased SAFEGUARD intrasite and intersite communications systems. Hence, its major effort was directed to the monitoring of the manufacture, installation and testing of highly critical systems meant that constant surveillance had to be kept on the operation at all times. And it was.

The SAFCA people were commanded by USACC personnel but worked closely with the SAFEGUARD System Manager, civilian contractors and commercial communications carriers. In this USACC program, electronics and physics were uniquely joined in planning, developing and testing equipment.

The SAFEGUARD Agency was realigned and redesignated the Ballistic Missile Defense Communications Activity (BMDCA) on July 1, 1975. The organization provides technical advice and assistance on communications matters to all U.S. Army Ballistic Missile defense units. Also, through its Huntsville, Alabama, detachment, BMDCA provides communications-electronics staff support to the Commander, Ballistic Missile Defense Systems Command. As suggested above, because of the nature of the mission, BMDCA people worked as closely with industry and other governmental agencies as they did with USACC.

The Communications Electronics Engineering Installation Agency (CEEIA) came to Fort Huachuca in 1970. As might be supposed from its title, the agency specialized in building the structures to

house and serve sophisticated communications equipment. It built protective antenna domes, put up TV stations, and installed navigational equipment for army airfields and heliports all over the world. It built satellite communications stations and set up microwave communications sites in places at home and overseas. The CEEIA group managed the Army's global communications - electronics building program, not only erecting stations and installing complicated equipment, but maintaining it once emplaced.

The major installing unit based at Huachuca was the U.S. Army Communications - Electronics Installation Battalion (USACEI-BN). It had the responsibility of furnishing mobile field training teams to instruct units in the erection and maintenance of complicated C-E gear. Headquartered at Fort Huachuca, USACEEIA had (and has) subcommands at home and in other portions of the free world: USACEEIA-CONUS, USACEEIA-EUROPE, and USACEEIA-PACIFIC. The organization's concept of management and control engineering projects has proved to be the most economical way of accomplishing USACC's global communications - electronics responsibilities.

In 1971 the U.S. Army Intelligence Center and School (USAICS) moved to Fort Huachuca from Fort Holabird, Maryland. By 1973 USAICS had merged with three other army activities to assure preeminence in the field of military intelligence. These were the Combat Development Command Intelligence Agency, the Combat Surveillance and Electronic Warfare School, and the 6th Army Training Aids Center.

The office of the Deputy Commandant for Combat and Training Developments has as its basic mission the determination of future requirements for combat and specialist intelligence systems in support of Army units in the field. This includes the "brain-storming" and organization of ideas and concepts, managing of information systems devised, experimentation and testing, determination of materiel requirements, and of course concentrated study in the classroom.

Studies are conducted for the mid- and long-range time frames. How, for example, will intelligence be disseminated to "space-cavalry" soldiers orbiting in space? How will such guardians of freedom know where enemy satellite stations are? How can they be avoided, intercepted or destroyed? In realistic pursuit of such eventualities, tables of organization and doctrinal literature are prepared for students.

The Office of the Deputy Commandant for Training and Education works with the development, conduct and management of USAICS resident and nonresident intelligence training programs. Courses include work in combat intelligence, strategic intelligence, counter-intelligence, and combat surveillance.

There are four distinct departments of the USAICS program at Huachuca: Tactical Intelligence and Military Science, Exploitation and Counter-Intelligence, Aerial Surveillance, and Ground Sensors. The USAICS program trains not only army personnel but people from other U.S. Armed Service branches and specially selected individuals from friendly foreign nations. It gives resident instruction for some 5,400 students every year, and will have as many as 1,200 student-trainees in residence at a given time. Courses in the school last from four to 39 weeks.

On March 29, 1973, USAICS conducted its first Basic Officer's training course at Fort Huachuca. That course, as the others which have followed it, lasted nine weeks. Courses average 50 students per class and emphasize performance as well as theory. The advanced course lasts for 26 weeks and is designed to prepare the career officer for staff duty in the intelligence field from battalion through division levels.

The USAICS program also offers a course which provides OV-1 aviators (commissioned and warrant officers) with a working knowledge of airborne radar, infra-red, camera and Doppler navigation systems, and a general knowledge of aerial surveillance.

The enlisted ranks are not overlooked. Intelligence training courses are held for junior and senior NCO's sent to Huachuca from other army posts throughout the country. In addition to the resident training courses listed above, USAICS conducts an army-wide training support program providing intelligence literature for army personnel, national guard, and other branch service schools. So varied is this printing program that interested students may choose between 131 separate correspondence courses.

The USAICS nonresident training programs extend to more than 60 foreign nations through Military Assistance Advisory Groups, Military Missions, and Defense Attaches engaged in training the military forces of friendly nations.

Since 1961, USAICS has trained intelligence officers in resident courses at Holabird and Huachuca. These men have come from more than 50 countries and spend from nine to 12 weeks in intensive classroom work. They are exposed to American life and customs

through visits to schools and universities, cultural and social interchange, and recreational areas. Places like Disneyland, Marineland and Sea World in California rate high on the foreign officer's lists.

The school asks military and civilian personnel to sponsor these officers during their training tour. Each guest is "assigned" to one military officer and one civilian government employee who entertain the man by taking him into their homes for dinner parties and other gatherings, and conduct him to such places of interest around Fort Huachuca as Tombstone, Nogales, Tucson, and even the Grand Canyon, several hundred miles away.

One of the most colorful ceremonies of all is the reception given to foreign students upon their arrival. It is held at the Lakeside Officer's Open Mess in a large ballroom beautifully decorated with the national flags of the students in residence. Each is in his full dress uniform; the receiving line is a sunburst of colors - reds, blues, whites, with every color of the spectrum appearing somewhere along the line, and the gold braid hangs in festoons. As all guest officers speak English, communication is not a problem. One must observe, however, that some students are more proficient in the language than others.

In all, USAICS is a unique and interesting institution and certainly is "the" intelligence center for the Armed Forces. The Marine Corps, Navy and Air Force send their personnel to the school and maintain liaison officers on post. So do the West German and Canadian governments. The school has but one negative feature. It is housed, generally, in ramshackle World War II ("temporary") structures, and while these are well equipped, air conditioned, and so on, they are not prepossessing in appearance.¹ Plans are afoot for the erection of a whole new massive complex which will remedy this situation.

In November 1974, the U.S. Army Commercial Communications Office (USARCCO) was established at Fort Huachuca on a provisional basis as a field operating activity of Headquarters, USACC. The Department of the Army approved the organization as an active Army component on February 3, 1975. The organization became fully operational in 1976 and assumed the telecommunications certifications office (TCO) functions previously performed by the 5th Signal Command, Worms, Germany; the 6th Signal Command, Fort Shafter, Hawaii; the 7th Signal Command, Fort Ritchie, Maryland, and the Ballistic Missile Defense Communications activity at Huachuca.

The TCO is the activity designated by the Department of the Army to ascertain that a specific telecommunications service or facility, one primarily leased from a commercial vendor, is a bona fide requirement of the requesting activity. Also, it is responsible for certifying to the Defense Communications leasing Agency (DECCO), that the army is prepared to pay mutually acceptable costs involved in operating the service.

In addition to the performance of TCO functions, USARCCO gives direction and policy guidelines pertaining to the management of the army's worldwide leased communications services and facilities overseas. It develops and prescribes the army voice and record traffic management policies and keeps a continual observance on traffic engineering activities of major USACC subcommands to insure maximum economic performance.

The U.S. Army Communications Management Information Systems Activity (USACOMISA) came to Fort Huachuca on February 2, 1975. Its purpose is to provide centralized automatic data processing support for USACC activities at Fort Huachuca and at other places throughout the world. The main functions of COMISA include the systems analysis, design, development and operation of management information systems in support of the USACC mission. A most important part of COMISA's mission is the operation of a centralized processing installation for all USACC activities. This installation is equipped with a large scale computer (CDC 6500) which has a multiprocessing capability. The computer has over one million characters of disc storage capability. The computer is augmented by an IBM 360/60 computer which ultimately will be replaced with a more sophisticated machine, the IBM 360/40.²

The U.S. Army Air Traffic Control Activity (USAATCA) headquartered at Fort Huachuca is responsible for the planning and coordinating of Army Air Traffic Control Navigational Aids Standardization and Modernization Programs. The agency has membership in Federal Aviation Administration, Department of Defense, and Department of the Army boards, committees and councils, representing the Army in matters pertaining to air traffic control. Worldwide, there are more than 1,500 controllers trying to make the Army ATC/NAVAIDS systems the safest and most reliable in military aviation.

FORT HUACHUCA TODAY

Last but certainly not least in the roster of units serving at Fort Huachuca is the post headquarters. Headquarters, Fort Huachuca, directly supports USACC activities and those of tenant agencies and manages the many functions and services which keep the 73,000-acre installation operating. Post management is carried on by some 900 military and 1,250 civilian employees.

Post headquarters provides police and fire protection, buildings and grounds maintenance, and operates a large commissary for military assignees and their dependents. It pays the salaries of military people and civilian workers, repairs streets, firing ranges, and training areas. It runs an on-post taxi and bus service, and it operates water and sewage systems. It runs a family housing service, and it conducts youth and sports programs and a number of health, welfare, educational and entertainment activities. It runs a multi-denominational religious program, and as the largest army installation in the state of Arizona it supports the U.S. Army Reserve and the National Guard by providing facilities for summer training exercises. In sum, Headquarters Fort Huachuca does what the mayor and the city council do for a good sized city - it provides and manages.

In order that readers may appreciate the scope of headquarters activity at Huachuca, a roster of the organizational officers is presented below:

- Commanding Officer
- Deputy Commander
- Executive Officer
- Staff Chaplain
- Staff Judge Advocate
- Inspector General
- Comptroller
- Director, Personnel & Community Activities
- Director, Plans, Training & Security

Director, Industrial Operations
 Director, Communications-Electronics
 Director, Facilities Engineering
 Computer Services Officer
 Headquarters Commandant
 Public Affairs Officer
 Post Surgeon
 Post Dental Surgeon
 Provost Marshal
 Commander, Libby Army Airfield

Tenant units as described in Chapter 27 are, or have been:

U.S. Army Electronic Proving Ground (USAEPG)
 U.S. Army Security Agency Test and Evaluation Center
 (USASATEC)
 U.S. Army Combat Surveillance School (USACSS)
 U.S. Army Electronic Warfare School (USAEWS)
 11th Signal Group (USACC)
 U.S. Army Electronics Command Meteorological Support
 Agency (USAECMSA)
 U.S. Army Intelligence Center and School (USAICS)
 U.S. Army Combat Development Command Intelligence
 Agency (USACDCIA)
 Medical Department Activity (MEDDAC)
 Raymond W. Bliss Army Hospital
 U.S. Army Commercial Communication Office (USARCCO)
 U.S. Army Communications Management Information
 Systems Activity (USACOMISA)
 U.S. Army Air Traffic Control Activity (USAATCA)

Under USACC, the Communications Electronics Engineering Installation Agency (CEEIA) and the Safeguard Communications Agency (SAFCA) have been operational at Fort Huachuca.

Fort Huachuca offers a respectable array of facilities and services to its assignees. It has one of the largest family housing establishments in the Department of the Army, with almost 2,000 sets of family housing units on post and some 100 or more government leased quarters in the civilian community of Sierra Vista. Housing includes Wherry, MCA and Capehart one, two, three and four bedroom units. Senior officers are quartered in the large, gracious old adobe quarters built along Grierson Avenue, on "Old Post" during the 1880's. All family quarters on post are equipped

with the normal appliances plus cable TV connections for Arizona and California stations.

Ground breaking ceremonies for 100 new houses for the families of officers and enlisted personnel were held early in 1975. The three-and-one-half million dollar project included 40 two and four bedroom units for company grade officers and 60 four bedroom units for enlisted men. All of these buildings are of wood frame construction and concrete block detailing. The project was completed early in 1976.

Bachelor housing includes 513 spaces for permanent change of station (PCS) personnel and temporary duty (TDY) assignees. Some people prefer to live off post and do so in places like Tombstone, Bisbee, St. David, Sonoita, Patagonia, Hereford, or on ranches in the vast open country between these towns. There are no mobile home facilities on post, but there are some parks in Sierra Vista.

Guest house facilities are excellent, beginning with the luxurious apartment of Hazen House set aside for senior officers and VIP's.¹ Allen House, down on Henry Circle, is not in the luxury class but is truly commodious, most apartments consisting of spacious bedroom, sitting room and bath.² Holman House is the post's motel, a 21-unit affair, built with nonappropriated funds and lying adjacent to the bank, PX, post office, cafeteria and theatre complex.

Finally, there are 28 hostess houses for families awaiting assignment to permanent on-post quarters. All of this is a very far cry indeed from the primitive conditions facing Captains Whitside, Rafferty, Hanna and the others back in the 1870's. If nothing else, the present day roofs do not leak, and that is a blessing.

The schools at Fort Huachuca are excellent. There is no high school or junior high school, however, so students of that age attend Buena High and Sierra Vista Junior High School in Sierra Vista. The Fort Huachuca Accomodations School system consists of three schools and some 75 teachers. These schools are operated under Arizona state law and under the supervision of the Cochise County School Superintendent. While military dependent children may go to Buena High, no children of civilians residing in adjacent post communities may attend the accomodation schools on post.

Johnston School takes care of all first, second and third grade classes, plus a special primary education class and a kindergarten class.³ Myer School houses fourth and fifth grade classes, two kindergarten groups, and one special intermediate education class.⁴

Smith School accommodates sixth, seventh and eighth grade classes, and has an ungraded class for those students with learning problems.⁵ Smith School, the newest and by far the most well equipped and elaborate of the three Huachuca schools, was opened and dedicated at ceremonies on Sunday, November 18, 1973. Principal speakers were Major General Jack A. Albright, Commanding Officer, U.S. Army Communications Command, and Dr. Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., then serving as Bicentennial Coordinator, Headquarters, Fort Huachuca.

In the matter of soldier education, Fort Huachuca takes an active interest in continuing the learning process of its people. A variety of programs are offered, therefore, under the auspices of the Army Education Center. Programs include counseling, preparatory high school and college courses, and vocational training in several fields. The University of Arizona (Tucson), Northern Arizona University (Flagstaff), Arizona State College (Tempe), Northern Colorado University, and Cochise College all have on post programs at Fort Huachuca. Courses offered by these five institutions range from basic academic studies to graduate level work. Also, correspondence courses may be taken with these and other universities.

At the other end of the education spectrum is the pre-school activity at Fort Huachuca. At the Merry Day Child Care Center children from three to five years of age function in a Montessori style atmosphere in which they may develop through freedom of action.⁶ Sensory perceptions and physical coordination are developed through participation in exercises and games. The teacher provides learning material (chalk, paints, paper, etc.) and then supervises her charges. The nursery staff at Merry Day provides safe care at moderate rates. Health standards are enforced and supervision is constant. Weekly rates are available for working mothers, and hot lunches are served at low cost.

In 1971 a million dollar religious complex, Kino Chapel, was started at Fort Huachuca. Completed in 1972, it is one of the most attractive structures on post. The chapel, nondenominational, seats over 600 people and has smaller rooms for education classes, seminars and chaplain's offices. Because personnel at Huachuca, like people anywhere, are of varying religious conviction, the post offers nine chaplains to serve the three major religions: Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism. Youth programs and special study groups are features at Kino Chapel, and during the summer Vacation Bible

School and religious camps are offered to Huachuca residents. Of special significance are the Easter Sunrise Services and the December presentation of the Messiah, held in conjunction with other churches throughout the Fort Huachuca area.

On July 28, 1967, the Raymond W. Bliss Army Hospital dedication ceremonies were held at Fort Huachuca.⁷ Ground had been broken for the hospital on July 2, 1965, with actual construction beginning on August 5th of that year. When completed, the three story nursing wing offered a 110 bed capacity consisting of private and semi-private nursing units. The hospital contains surgical, pediatric, medical, maternity, and female dependent wards. The ground floor contains a 38-chair dental clinic, a central material supply, food service area, patient welfare area, hospital post exchange, barber shop, cafeteria and administrative offices.

Also included in the hospital facilities are an emergency out-patient clinic, diagnostic and treatment areas, Red Cross office, ward lounges and a bookmobile service..

The hospital is a part of the U.S. Army Medical Department Activity (MEDDAC), whose headquarters are at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas. At Huachuca this tenant organization is comprised of the hospital, the dental activity, veterinary facility, health and environmental activity, and a mental hygiene consultation service. The MEDDAC staff is composed of military and civilian doctors and military nurses and technicians.

Fortunately for Fort Huachucans, the army has classified the place a "remote post," which means that dental care is authorized for dependents if they live within 30 miles of the post. Similarly, treatment of retired military personnel and their dependents may be obtained on a space available basis.

Veterinary activities on post include the inspection of all subsistence items coming to Huachuca. Items are thoroughly checked for wholesomeness as they come on post, and teams are sent to inspect those commercial concerns which produce, store, manufacture and transport edibles. The veterinarians also serve to control those animal diseases which are transmissible to men, impound suspected rabid animals, and provide veterinary service for pets of active duty personnel.

The business about rabid animals is no idle concern. The wild mountain areas around Huachuca abound with wildlife: coyotes, skunk, badger, squirrels, and other potential rabies carriers. Soldiers

and their dependents sometimes are bitten by these creatures; fortunately help is near and catastrophe is avoided by shots in the hospital's infirmary.

The hospital services and facilities were a long time in coming, at least to the high standards enjoyed by Fort Huachuca people today. During the first three years of the post's existence, medical facilities were crammed into a mud and wattle roof dispensary, a building 18 feet wide and 35 feet long, two hospital tents, and a store room. By 1879, a six-bed hospital was authorized for the post. Begun in September 1879, it was completed on April 25, 1880, with an expenditure of only \$1,289 of the \$3,000 appropriated. It is the post's oldest structure.

With the expansion of the post, Fort Huachuca's third hospital was built. Begun in 1884, it was completed in 1885. This building, now serving as the Post Finance Center, served as a hospital for 56 years, finally releasing its angel of mercy role in 1941. The old hospital served civilians as well as military people. In an age uncluttered by rules, regulations and forms, sick civilians in the area frequently were nursed back to health at the old "Leonard Wood" hospital on Boyd Street. Today that would be impossible.

With the approach of World War II, hospital facilities had to keep pace with the huge station complement. A new hospital opened on May 19, 1941, followed by another on June 17, 1942. These have been described in an earlier chapter.

The new Post Exchange was completed in 1971, at about the same time as the Cochise Theater, Post Office and PX Cafeteria. These buildings form a sort of complex, and, as they are in close proximity to the bank (First National Bank of Arizona), bowling alley, laundromat, chapel and guest house, are always busy. The PX is a standard service exchange installation, which is to say that it is new, modern, attractive and well stocked. In addition to the main store, the exchange has a barber shop, beauty parlor, optical, shoe, watch repair and floral shops. There is a small exchange in the hospital, a cafeteria in Greely Hall, and a snack bar at Libby Airfield.⁸ Other exchange features are the Spice Rack, a restaurant specializing in pizza, chicken and sandwiches, a home and garden center (Four Seasons Shop), the Quick Shop, and a gasoline and auto repair station.

There is scarcely a need which may not be met by Fort Huachuca's many service centers. In addition to all of the things listed above, station personnel enjoy the privileges offered by a large

and well stocked commissary, a package liquor store, laundry and dry cleaning establishments, a thrift shop and a well coordinated travel service.

With regard to the latter, government operated buses provide service on several routes and all post personnel may ride the buses. Taxis are available on-call during normal duty hours. Liberty bus passenger service is available to and from Tucson on weekends and holidays for all military personnel at no cost to the individual. Scheduled commercial bus transportation is available between the post and Tombstone, Bisbee, Douglas, Nogales and Tucson. There are Avis and Hertz Rental agencies in Sierra Vista. The Scheduled Airlines Traffic Office (SATO) provides service for official and personal air travel, working with all of the major commercial airlines out of Tucson International Airport.

With regard to official military air transportation, Libby Army Airfield serves USACC and Headquarters Fort Huachuca personnel. The field is equipped with a Terminal Visual Omni Range (TVOR) nondirectional, low-frequency beacon, ground control approach radar capable of providing surveillance and precision approaches, and a complete Air Traffic Control facility. Libby Airfield supports USACC and the tenant organizations on post. Also, it is a joint-use facility, used by the Sierra Vista Municipal Service located just north of the main runway. This municipal facility has parking and refueling capabilities for civilian aircraft. (Cochise Airlines uses Libby Airfield to service such places as Tucson, Phoenix, Flagstaff, and Douglas.)

The U.S. Army Military Affiliated Radio System (MARS) provides auxiliary and emergency radio communications service as needed. Perhaps the most popular feature of MARS is its phone patch service between the continental U.S. and posts in the Pacific and Far East, whereby men and women may talk with loved ones in far away places.

Post personnel are served by the American Red Cross which maintains an office at the corner of Boyd and Augur Streets. The Red Cross offers family assistance service, counseling in times of emergency, and has a loan program for those in need of emergency funds. Red Cross volunteers serve the hospital, dental clinics and the well baby clinic.

The post has two fine clubs. The Lakeside Officers' Club is situated, appropriately enough, by a small but beautiful lake, whose waters are lined with huge old willow and cottonwood trees. Bass and carp are caught by anglers, while geese and ducks promenade on

shore. Facilities include a large and attractive dining room, ballroom and a formal cocktail lounge. Downstairs there is a casual bar and a game room. Professional entertainment is a feature at the Lakeside Club with excellent musical groups coming in for limited engagements from Tucson, Phoenix and other metropolitan areas.

One of the finer aspects of the Lakeside Club is the colorful and formal Dining-In Ceremony held several times a year. Officers wear full dress, civilian guests black tie. The colors are posted ceremoniously to the roll of drums, and toasts are made to the Commander in Chief, to the Army, and to other organizations and individuals deemed worthy of special recognition. After dining, guests listen to some distinguished speaker, and the evening ends with "games," British Army style.

Once each year the order is reversed with a Dining-Out Ceremony. The format is similar except that in this instance ladies are in attendance, gorgeously arrayed in sparkling formal attire. A dance takes the place of the sometimes rough and tumble games held after Dining-In parties.

Because there is a U.S. Marine Corps Liaison Office at Fort Huachuca in connection with the Intelligence School, the Lakeside Club plays host to the annual Marine Corps Birthday Ball on November 11th. Marines decked out in dress blues proudly stage one of the most glittering and patriotic soirees of the year. Cutting of the birthday cake to the strains of the Marine Corps Hymn is a highpoint.

The U.S. Army Artillery Ball is held in the Lakeside Ballroom annually also. Not to be outdone by the Marines, the Army puts on a superlative show, with artillery pieces lining the entry to the club, and all decor made in the festive and brilliant artillery red. Huge outsize flags of the 50 states line two sides of the ballroom, lending color to the occasion.

La Hacienda is the Non-Commissioned Officer's Club located at Fourth and D Streets. La Hacienda is larger than Lakeside, and its ballroom can accommodate some 500 people. Like Lakeside, it has game rooms, cocktail lounges, and a very active entertainment program, featuring dance bands, floor shows, luaus, buffets and special parties. Free membership is open to all enlisted grades from E-1 through E-9, and associate membership is open to civilian employees in grades GS-6, WB-14 and below.

The Murr Recreation Center is a handsome, large recreation complex for enlisted personnel at Fort Huachuca.⁹ It has comfortable lounges, a library, game rooms, and sound-proofed "listening rooms" equipped with hi-fi recorders and liberal selections of records and tapes. The center operates a tour service and provides special low cost tours to places like Las Vegas, Disneyland, the Grand Canyon, and other places of special attraction. Also, it provides tickets for all events scheduled for the Convention Center in Tucson.

Perhaps the most colorful and popular entity on post today is an organization known as B Troop, 4th Cavalry, (Memorial). It is just what the name implies, a mounted unit made up of western history buffs, especially those interested in the exploits and achievements of Capt. H.W. Lawton's 1886 command. Its purpose, according to the unit's constitution, is to "foster social and cultural activities which will promote the heritage of the U.S. Army and the American Indian as taken from the conflicts during the frontier wars."

The members of B Troop are fully caparisoned with regulation uniforms of the 1886 period, sabres, pistols, and carbines, and their mounts are properly outfitted with the McClellan saddle, proper saddle blankets, and regulation bridles, halters and associated gear. The troop is an integral part of all parades and ceremonies at Fort Huachuca and is featured throughout Arizona and the southwest at fairs, rodeos and national celebrations of all sorts. The troop has won many trophies over the past several years. Riding proudly in a column of twos, with an Apache Indian scout or two heading the van, the troop makes a nostalgic and colorful appearance wherever it goes. Wives and sweethearts form an auxiliary group. The ladies wear 1880's attire. There are many social events throughout the year, climaxed with a fine Cavalry Ball in the autumn. In all, B Troop, 4th Cavalry, does more to memorialize the glories of the past at Fort Huachuca than any other entity, save the Post Museum.

One of the finest institutions on post and by all odds the most interesting is the post museum located on the corner of Grierson and Boyd Streets in the Old Post area. The building was once used as the Officers' Club and has an easy air of casual grace in the way the director has displayed artifacts. A two-story affair, the museum is filled with cases of fascinating objects - arrowheads and pottery found in 10th Century Indian villages, Spanish and Mexican period weapons, saddles, bridles and other "horse gear," uniforms, and a dazzling assortment of 19th Century household items and instruments of war.

Perhaps the most extensive collection is that displaying the impedimenta of the cavalry "horse soldiers" of the 1880's. It includes uniforms, gauntlets, swords, carbines, kepis, dress helmets, ornaments, saddles, and even the commissions of famous individuals like Capt. S.M. Whitside. Letters and documents of General's Pershing, Wood, Lawton, Dorst, Patch, Alexander M. Patch, and others give added interest and authenticity to the well integrated displays.

The Edward Bregman Kachina Doll Collection is one of the finest in the country. Dr. Bregman, a noted Phoenix physician, presented his superlative collection to the museum in 1974. Beautifully displayed against a background of black velvet, the figures are a favorite attraction for all visitors.

The museum has a small but valuable library, and that facility is used constantly by researchers in the field of Western Americana. It has a traveling exhibit program and plays host to thousands of school children each year who come in from all over southeastern Arizona. In the words of the museum's present director, Mr. Jim Finley: "Within the larger context of regional history, this museum's displays focus on the contribution of the military to the growth of a nation and its impact on today's society." Indeed they do.

This is a history of Fort Huachuca, not a history of the communities which surround it. Still, it would be improper to omit mention of the fast growing community of Sierra Vista which shares a common boundary with the post. The town was originally called Buena back in 1915 and consisted of little more than a general store and a handful of houses. The name was changed to Overton several years later, and, by 1927 when a post office was put in, the name changed again to Fry after a rancher who owned property in the area. In 1956 the place was incorporated and renamed Sierra Vista, an apt title considering the mountain views all around.

The place has grown dramatically since the establishment of the Electronic Proving Ground at Fort Huachuca, and special impetus in growth came with the presence of the Army Communications Command and the Intelligence School. In May 1971, the city annexed Fort Huachuca, and so counts the post 11,000 military assignees and civilian employees in its 20,000 population figure.

Sierra Vista is a progressive community with the usual number of chain stores and small businesses prevalent in communities suffering growing pains. Still, it has an attractive housing area, several supermarkets, some pretty fair eating places, and is looking for light

industries to bolster its economy. Community relations between Sierra Vistans and the military are good, as they should be.

On March 3, 1977, Fort Huachuca will be one hundred years old. Plans are afoot now to celebrate the old post's first century of existence and to pay homage to the fine men and women who have served there over the years. Perhaps no better present could be given than the one which came in 1975. In January 1975, Fort Huachuca was added to the National Register of Historic Places and that means that nothing in the Old Post area can be altered or demolished without sanction from the state and federal governments. Leading the way in this project was Col. Arthur V. Corley, history-oriented Post Commander, ably assisted by Dr. Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., Bicentennial Coordinator; Mr. Jim Finley, Museum Director; and Dr. Bruno J. Rolak, Chief Historian, USACC.¹⁰

William Cowper, musing in *The Timepiece* wrote:

HIS HEAD, NOT YET BY TIME COMPLETELY SILVERED
O'ER,
BESPOKE HIM PAST THE BOUNDS OF FREAKISH YOUTH,
BUT STRONG FOR SERVICE STILL,
AND UNIMPAIRED.¹¹

That is Fort Huachuca, born of necessity, guardian of the frontier, keeping pace with the times, and looking ahead.

Headquarters Department of Arizona,
In the Field, Fort Bowie, Ariz.
April 13. 1886.

General Field Order
No 5.

Captain W. A. Thompson,
4th Cavalry, is hereby announced as temporary
Acting Assistant Adjutant General troops in
the field, Department of Arizona, and will
relieve Captain C. Roberts, 17th Infantry,
in charge of office at Field Headquarters.

By command of
Brigadier General Miles

O. M. Hall
Capt. 17th Infantry
all d

Capt. William A. Thompson was General Miles' Acting Assistant Adjutant General for most of Geronimo Campaign. Here is the order appointing Thompson to that post.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
 Signal & Service, & U. & S. & Army---United & States & Telegraph.

NUMBER.	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHECK.
	<i>H. W. Linn</i>	<i>On</i>	
DATED	<i>Bellevue Army May 2</i>		188 <i>6</i>
	Received at Fort Bowie, A. T., <i>May 2</i>		188 <i>6</i> <i>8¹⁴ P.M.</i>
To	<i>Capt. Thompson</i>		
<i>M. B. B. B. B.</i>			
<i>Order sent from nearest post by</i>			
<i>rail. Recd. thousands pounds of bacon</i>			
<i>to Fort Huachuca</i>			
<i>Miles</i>			
<i>Conroy</i>			

When General Miles wanted bacon for the Lawton-Wood expedition, he wanted a lot of it.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Signal Service, U. S. Army---United States Telegraph.

NUMBER	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHECK
	W	Mr	45 Called for
DATED	Lueson Ariz May 3		1886
	Received at Fort Bowie, A. T., May 3		1886
To	Genl Miles		9:45 AM

J. Bance

I desire specific instructions as to what I shall do with the Indians after I have enlisted them, how long they are to be enlisted for and how I shall return to Hualahuaca. I desire authority to hire interpreters a Chief of Scouts and to call on P.M. there for such supplies and transportation as I may need.

Samson
Lieut.

Lt. Samson L. Faison wires General Miles about enlisting Indian scouts for the Geronimo Campaign.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Signal Service, U. S. Army---United States Telegraph.

NUMBER.	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHECK.
	W	mm	

DATED *Wilkes Ariz. May 2* 1886

Received at Fort Bowie, A. T. *May 2* 1886 *3:30 P. M.*

To *Capt Thompson*

Fort Bowie

*How many heliographs telescopes and field
glasses are now in the Dept And at what
points. Capt Sig. Service men have been
ordered to trackmen And I want to send
detachment and instruments to Chaffee
and Supper*

Miles
C. M.

General Miles queries his AAAG about heliograph supplies.

Just Read,

From Station No. 5 May 23 1886

T. A. A. A. G.

Fort Brown

Have one line working through to
Pensacola. Seven stations in good
order, greatest lays work about fifteen
hundred words. Start for Pensacola
tonight in obedience to the General's
orders.

Fuller

Lieut.

Recd

Lt. Alvarado M. Fuller reports to Captain W.A. Thompson concerning establishment of
heliograph stations.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Signal Service, U. S. Army---United States Telegraph.

NUMBER.	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHECK
	W	M	83 Collect for Cates

DATED *Presidio of San Juan May 13* 1886
 Received at Fort Bowie, A. T., *May 13* 1886 *8⁵⁵ P. M.*

To *Comdg Genl. Dept Arizona*

Fort Bowie

In view of G. O. M. 24 C.S. Hdqrs of the Army the Dir. Comdr requests your recommendation as to what stations the Hdqrs and Companies of the 8th Infy should be assigned and to what points on the R.R. the 3 Companies now in Dept of Cal should be sent also the station of Lieut Col. Maj 8th Infy

C McKeever
AAG

✓ D K Huachuca

✓ B Lowell

✓ C Mojave

✓ H Grant

✓ E Apache

✓ A Boone

✓ F Grant

G McDowell

I Verde

Lt. Col. Chauncey McKeever, AAG, queries General Miles concerning distribution of companies of the 8th U.S. Infantry throughout Arizona.

Fort Bayard, N. M.
May 17th 1886.

To the

A. A. A. General,

Fort Bowil A. T.

(Through Capt. Tupper, Comdg. Bat. 6th Cav.).

Sir,

Having this day received notification of my detail in charge of signal operations in Southern New Mexico, I have the honor to request that I be furnished with a double seated buckboard & two good mules.

This duty, properly conducted, will entail a great deal of travel, on which I will have to take my bedding, instruments & other supplies, and this can be done in the most effective manner with the above transportation, I can reach all stations, it will be necessary to establish, by buckboard.

Very respectfully Your Obedt. Servt.

Edw. E. Dravo.

1st Lieut. 6th Cav.,
In chg. heliographing.

Lt. Edward Dravo asks AAAG for mules and buckboard in order to perform duties as heliograph officer in southern New Mexico.

Telegrams

Fort Apache, Arizona

May 14 1886.

A. A. S. G.

Fort Bowie

I request authority to pay fifteen Indian Scouts at this Post mounted pay. That is forty cents per day for use of horse. They to furnish these horses and be always ready for mounted duty. This will I think add to the efficiency of the Scouts and can be used as a reward the best men.

(Signed) J. F. Wade

Lieut. Col. 10th Cavalry

Commanding

Fort Apache, Arizona.

May 14 1886.

Official copy respectfully furnished by Mail.

Lt. Col. James F. Wade asks permission to pay 15 Indian scouts for use of their personal mounts.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Signal Service, U. S. Army---United States Telegraph.

NUMBER	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHECK
	W	M	46 03
DATED	Presidio of San Francisco, May 17 1886		
	Received at Fort Bowie, A. T., May 17 1886 534 M		
To	Genl Miles		
	At Bowie Ariz		
	Div Comdr says Col Kautz is an old and		
	worthy officer. Can you not allow him some		
	choice of station or allotment of companies		
	of his regiment in Arizona. Col Kautz knows		
	nothing of this dispatch.		
	C McKeever		
	A. V.		

Lt. Col. Chauncey McKeever asks General Miles for consideration in permitting Col. A. V. Kautz to choose his station. Message is of interest since it was Col. Kautz who issued the order to select a site for Fort Huachuca, Special Order Number 14, Headquarters, Department of Arizona, February 12, 1877.

Form No. 1

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

This Company TRANSMITS and DELIVERS messages only on conditions limiting its liability, which have been assented to by the sender of the following message. Errors can be guarded against only by repeating a message back to the sending station for comparison, and the company will not hold itself liable for errors or delay in transmission or delivery of Unrepeated Messages, beyond the amount of tolls paid thereon, nor in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after sending the message.

This is an UNREPEATED MESSAGE, and is delivered by request of the sender, under the conditions named above.

THOS. T. ECKERT, General Manager.

NORVIN GREEN, President.

NUMBER	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHARGE
7	N	G	34 Co. GR

Received at Willcox 6 P 6 P 1885

Dated San Pedro River May 28 via Benson
To Capt Thompson Willcox

There are six citizens here who
 want Rifle & ammunition I believe
 they will be used to advantage
 if sent to Solomon Lick.

at Benson no news

Wilder Lt

Lt. Wilber Wilder reports to Capt. W. A. Thompson on six civilians who desire to draw arms and ammunition for fight against Apaches.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Signal Service, U. S. Army --- United States Telegraph.

NUMBER.	SENT BY	REC'D BY	CHECK.
	W	Mr	76 Collect Commercial Rates & 84 Collect for.
DATED	Imuris	Mexico	May 14
Received at Fort Bowie, A. T.,			May 14 188 6 9 ⁴⁵ A. M.

To: Genl Miles

St. Bernard Arizona

I am satisfied from our work to-day that no trails have gone south east up to this point. Hostiles scattered here and joined further ^{on} west. Main trail goes South West trail of women or Aznaw trail found will continue to follow if packers sent as witnesses to Bayard are no longer needed by court they can join me from Imuris if possible women like another Lieut for reasons which I will explain in letter

H. W. Lawton
Capt.

Capt. H. W. Lawton reports to General Miles on initial phase of his expedition into Mexico after Geronimo.

By Heliograph

F. Bowie August 31, 1876
3 P.M.

Captain Lawton (By courier as rapidly as possible)

If the Indians give you any guarantee or hostages that they will surrender to me I will go down or you can use any other means you think advisable. You will be justified in using any measures. If the surrender they will not be killed but rightly treated. I am ready to start but not unless I am sure will do good.

Miles,
Commanding

Fort Bowie Sept 6. 1886.
Gov. Luis E. Torres
Yemasilla, Mexico.
The hostile Apaches surrendered
as prisoners of war on the 4th.
I arrived here last night
with Geronimo and Natchez
and three others Captain Sawton
brings the remainder. Am moving
all from Fort Apache and the
sending those and these hostiles
two thousand miles east will
I hope give permanent peace
to the people living in Mexico, Arizona
and New Mexico. Your hearty co-
operation has contributed much
help in the solution of this difficult
problem.

Nelson A Miles
Brig Genl

General Miles wires Sonoran Governor Luis Torres about surrender of Geronimo. Thanks Torres for assistance, thus gaining good will between the United States and Mexico. (Note misspelling of Torres' first name).

Ft Bowie, Sept 6. 1886.

General Forsyth, Huachuca,

Geronimo and Natchez
Came in last night with the
General unconditional surrender
Swanton will reach here tomorrow
with the whole outfit Department
Commander directs that you send
the Band 4th Cavalry to report here
at once - Come by rail Have Capt.
North report here also with
orders for his Company to start
on Wednesday

Thompson
S. V. S. S. S.

Capt. Thompson asks General Forsyth (sic) for 4th Cavalry Band to play Geronimo off into captivity in Florida. Forsyth was a Lt. Col. at the time of this request. Thompson was using Forsyth's brevet rank of Brigadier General gained on September 17, 1868 for his gallant stand at the Arickaree Fork of the Republican River in Kansas.

Fort Bowie Sept 6. 1886.

Mrs N. A. Miles

Nonquett

(via New Bedford, Massachusetts)

The last of the hostile Apaches
surrendered yesterday at Skeleton
Creek named so by the number
of skeletons found there the
result of massacre many years
ago. I left there this morning
and after a ride of sixty
five miles arrived at this place
bringing Geronimo & Natchez the
hereditary chief of the Apaches and
three others the remainder under
charge of Fawcett will be here
in three days All well Love
to Cecelia & Sherman

Nelson A Miles

General Miles informs his wife, Mary about the surrender of Geronimo and Natchez.

Headquarters Division of the Pacific,

Presidio of San Francisco, Cal., Sept^r 23^d 1886.

Brigadier General Miles.

Whipple Barracks.

Prescott, A.T.

Major General Howard directs
you to send him at once, by telegraph,
a full report of the capture of Geronimo
and the Apaches who were with him,
with the exact terms of their surrender -
simply the facts. Acknowledge receipt.

(signed) C. McKeever.

A. A. General

Lt. Col. Chauncey McKeever contacts General Miles about General O. O. Howard's request for a full report on the capture of Geronimo. Howard and Miles were not the best of friends, note the terse directive: "simply the facts."

MAP OF THE MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF NEW MEXICO

Drawn under the direction of
Brig Gen. JAMES H CARLETON
BY
Capt ALLEN ANDERSON, 5th U S Infantry,
Acting Engineer Officer
1864.

PRINCIPAL LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES ASTRONOMICALLY DETERMINED

Place	Latitude	Longitude	Authority
Albuquerque	35° 00' 15"	106° 37' 30"	Capt. A. W. Whipple
Santa Fe	35° 41' 00"	105° 55' 00"	"
Doña Ana	35° 03' 15"	106° 48' 30"	"
El Paso del Norte	31° 44' 15"	106° 05' 00"	"
Artes Chaco	31° 11' 00"	105° 09' 15"	Capt. A. W. Whipple
Peralta	34° 30' 30"	105° 55' 00"	Maj. W. H. Emory
Fort Stanton	33° 30' 30"	105° 38' 15"	Capt. J. N. Macomb
Isleta	34° 54' 00"	106° 39' 30"	Capt. A. W. Whipple
Fort Craig	33° 38' 15"	106° 05' 00"	Capt. J. N. Macomb
Mouth of San Juan River	33° 00' 30"	110° 15' 00"	Maj. W. H. Emory
Copper Mines of Santa Rita	33° 37' 30"	108° 04' 00"	"
Junction of Gila and Colorado	31° 43' 30"	110° 36' 30"	Capt. A. W. Whipple
Tucson	32° 15' 30"	110° 34' 30"	Maj. W. H. Emory
Initial Point of Boundary on Parallel 31° 47'	31° 47' 00"	106° 31' 00"	"
Pueblo de Zuni	35° 04' 00"	108° 15' 00"	Capt. A. W. Whipple
Cuervo (on San Juan River)	35° 05' 00"	109° 36' 15"	"
Mouth of Wildcat Fork	34° 47' 00"	114° 00' 00"	"
Initial Point on Colorado, 80 Miles below the Mouth of the Rio Grande	35° 00' 00"	113° 36' 45"	Maj. W. H. Emory

EXPLANATION OF SIGNS

- Wagon Roads
- Trails and routes of reconnoitering parties
- Route recommended for Wagon road
- Route of Party exploring for same
- Route recommended for examination
- Supposed or approximate position of streams
- Beds of streams sometime dry
- Military Posts occupied
- Military Posts abandoned

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360 A

AUTHORITIES.

War Department Map of New Mexico, 1859; Lieut. G. K. Warren's Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean; Report of an Exploration for a Wagon Road from Tucson to Lobos Bay, by Major D. Ferguson, 1st Cavalry, California Volunteers; Maps of Explorations for a Railroad Route near the 35th Parallel, by Lieut. Whipple and Ives; Map of a portion of the New Gold Fields of Arizona, by J. H. Emory, 1864; Sketch of the Northern Portion of the New Gold Fields of Arizona, by Surveyor General John A. Clark, 1863; Emory's Map of New Mexico, 1848-47; Map accompanying the Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission, by Major Emory; Lieut. Parker's Map No. 2 of Explorations for a Railroad Route near the 33rd Parallel; Map of the Silver Mines of Southern Arizona, H. C. Grosvenor; Governor Gilpin's Map of Colorado Territory; War Department Map of Utah; Map of the Survey of Public Lands in California; Itinerary of a Scout, by Captain H. B. Bristol, U. S. A., 1863; Notes of an Exploration for a Wagon Road from Fort Whipple to the Crossing on the Colorado Chiquito, by Lieut. Col. Joseph F. Chaves, 1st Cavalry, New Mexican Vols. The new Military Posts at Calabasas, Fort Grant, Maricopa Wells, Fort McDowell, Wickenburg, Camp on Deer Creek, Camp on Verde River, Camp on Lake Carleton and Fort Rock Spring, are located from a map loaned to the Engineer Bureau from General Grant's Headquarters, January 16th, 1866.



SOUTHERN ARIZONA

IN THE LATE '70's

MODIFICATION OF MAP DATED 1879

Prepared Under Direction of

1st Lieut. Fred. A. Smith, Adjutant 12th Infy.

by Paul Riecker

— Telegraph
— Roads (Red shows route of the California Column)
— Trails

10 0 10 20 30 40 MILES 50 60 70 80 90 100

360 B

Drawn by G.H. Schneider, Tucson, Arizona, December, 1927

At Pima River, as noted above, occurred the only battle of the Civil War in Arizona. Three Union soldiers were killed: Lieut. James B. Correll and Privates Geo. Jackson and Wm. S. Leonard, 1st Calif. Vol.

Legend.

- N^o 1 Hospital for two Companies, easily converted into a four Company Hospital.
- N^o 2 Chapel, to be incorporated with -
- N^o 3 Quarters for Field Officer or Post Surgeon.
- N^o 4 Quarters for one Captain.
- N^o 5 " " two Lieutenants.
- N^o 6 Small Adobe to be used as a Kitchen for a Captain's Quarters.
- N^o 7 Small Adobe to be used as Kitchen & Servant's room for Quarters for two Lieutenants.
- N^o 8 Small Adobe to be used as a Kitchen for -
- N^o 9 Post Commander's Quarters.
- N^o 10 Post Trader's, to be converted into -
- N^o 11 Q. M. & Comm^{rs} Store House.
- N^o 12 Laundry Quarters.
- N^o 13 Boarding house, to be incorporated with -
- N^o 14 Cavalry Barracks.
- N^o 15 Guard house.
- N^o 16 Barracks.
- N^o 17 Cavalry corrals.
- N^o 18 Q. M. Corral, Hay & Wood.
- N^o 19 Store.
- N^o 20 Kitchen.
- N^o 21 Granary.
- N^o 22 Bakery.
- N^o 23 Post Adjutant's Office.
- N^o 24 Boarding house.
- Existing Buildings.
- Proposed new Buildings.

Area: 208.907 Acres.

ENGINEER OFFICE.
Bd. of Engrs. of the Pac. and Dept. of Cal.
PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.
NOVEMBER 1881.

W. A. Jones

Captain of Engineers,
Engineer District.

Traced by C. Winstanley, Topographical Assistant.



MAP

OF

CAMP HUACHUCA,

A.T.

As proposed to be laid out
by

Col. J. C. Kelton.

Assistant Adjutant General.

Mil. Div. of the Pac. and Dept. of Cal.

from sketches by,
1st Sergeant Ryan,
Co. K 12th Infantry.

OCTOBER 1881.

360 C

MAP OF FORT HUACHUCA, A.T.

SHOWING THE SEWAGE SYSTEM: AS PROPOSED BY 1ST LIEUT. JAMES M. RENCIE, 1ST ARTILLERY.

SURVEYED BY
1ST LIEUT. J. M. RENCIE,
1ST ARTILLERY,
Student in Engineer Office,
Bdgen. Div. of the Ins. Eng.
OCTOBER 1892.

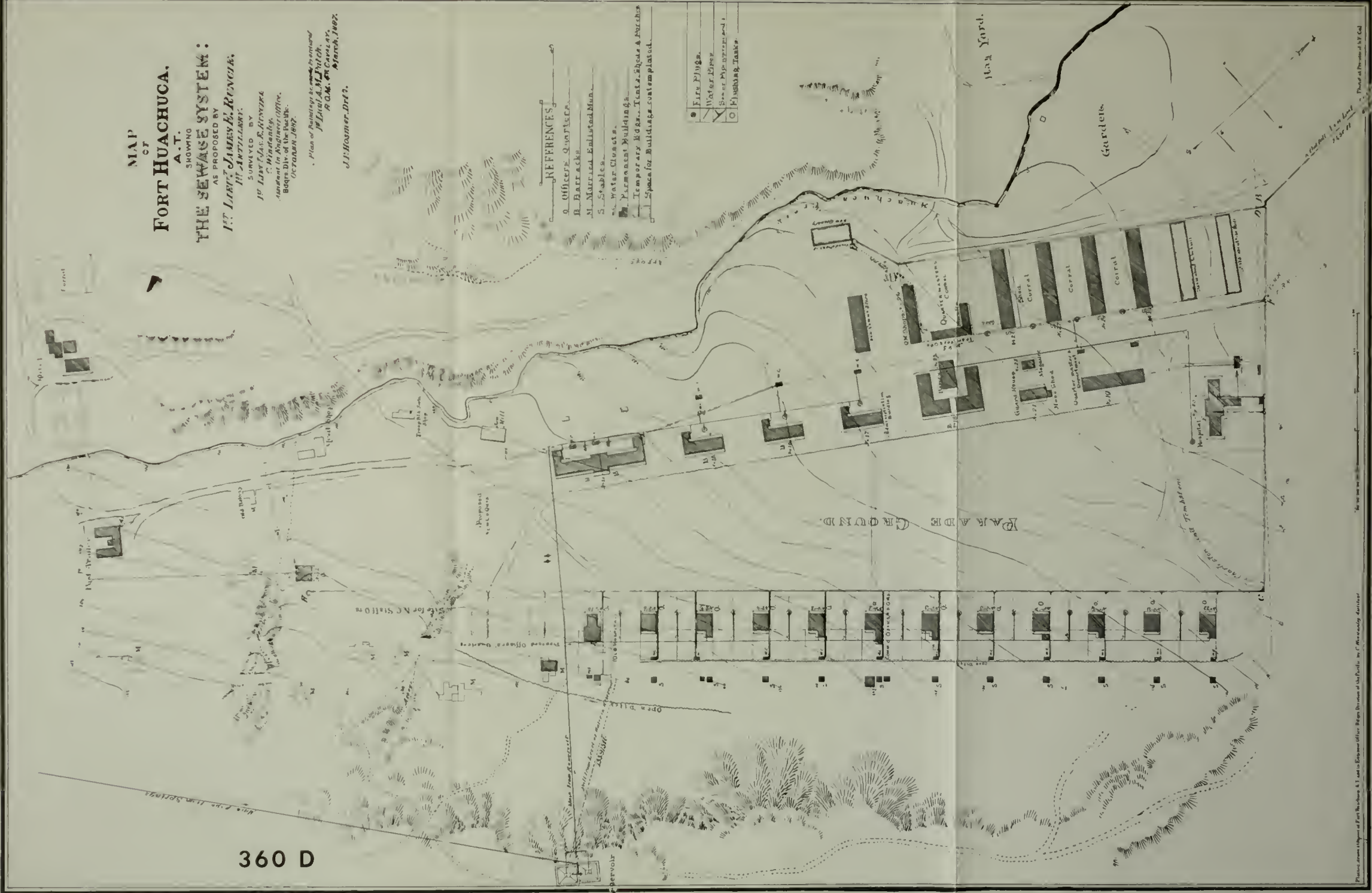
Plan of Buildings as they appeared
March 1892.
1st Lieut. J. M. Rencie,
R.O.C. in Charge,
March 1892.

J. J. Mosher, Draft.

REFERENCES

- Q. Officers' Quarters.
- R. Barracks.
- M. Married Enlisted Men.
- S. Stables.
- W. Water Closets.
- P. Permanent Buildings.
- T. Temporary Edges.
- Space for Buildings not completed.

- Fire Plug.
- △ Water Pipe.
- Sewer Pipe (proposed).
- Flushing Tank.



360 D

CHAPTER NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. John Gregory Bourke, *On the Border with Crook*, 117.

CHAPTER 2

1. Inge, Duncan, Clark, Stockton, Davis, Quitman, Hancock, Bliss.
2. Fort Buchanan, Nov. 17, 1856; Camp Grant, July, 1860; Camp Lowell, May 20, 1862; Camp Tubac, July 20, 1862; Fort Bowie, July 28, 1862; Camp Goodwin, May 1, 1864; Fort Mason, Aug. 1, 1865; Camp Wallen, May 9, 1866; Camp Cameron, Aug 1, 1866; Fort Crittenden, Aug. 10, 1867; Fort Thomas, Aug. 12, 1876.
3. Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., William Sanders Oury - History Maker of the Southwest, 121-129.
4. William Bailey, a participant, wrote: "We counted 30 dead Apaches..." Lt. Royal E. Whitman, in his report to the Commission of Indian Affairs, House Document 1, 42d Congress, 2d Session, 1872-72, P. 487, lists 125 Indians "dead or missing." Indian Agent John P. Clum, at San Carlos, listed 118 dead.

CHAPTER 3

1. Report, Lt. Robert Hanna to Capt. S.M. Whitside, Sept. 28, 1877.
2. Report, Capt. Tullius Cicero Tupper to post adjutant, Camp Grant, A.T., Sept. 18, 1877.
3. Hanna, op. cit.
4. Not much of an exaggeration, however. A tracing of Hanna's route, as described, disclosed that he did indeed cover between 600 and 700 miles.
5. Hanna, op. cit.

CHAPTER 4

1. Letter, Capt. S.M. Whitside to Asst. Adj. Gen., Dept. of Arizona, Sept. 3, 1878.
2. Songs like: "The Regular Army, OH!", "Garryowen" (Regimental Song, 7th U.S. Cavalry), "In Old Arizona Again," "Fiddler's Green," and "The Girl I Left Behind Me."
3. Portion of an anonymous letter sent to the U.S. House of Representatives from 6th Cavalry soldiers at Fort Huachuca in 1878.
4. Arizona Daily Star, Aug. 27, 1879, 1.

5. After Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, Commander of the Union Army Forces in Arizona during the Civil War. Carleton's organization generally is referred to as "The California Column."
6. Rhea Street named in honor of Col. James Cooper Rhea, 10th U.S. Cavalry, and Post Commander at Fort Huachuca, Dec. 31, 1923 to Apr. 19, 1926. Rhea won the DSC for conspicuous action at St. Etienne, France, Oct. 9, 1918.
7. Figures taken from official quartermaster installation building files, Post Museum, Fort Huachuca.
8. Ibid.
9. In the "old Army," officers frequently engaged in business or quasi-business enterprises which today would be considered as "Conflict of Interest."
10. From key address by William Sanders Oury, upon occasion of the arrival of the Southern Pacific Railroad line into Tucson, March 20, 1880. Copy of speech in files, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.

CHAPTER 5

1. Medical History, Fort Sully, II, 285-287.

CHAPTER 6

1. Letter, Ramon Corral, Hermosillo, Son., to Gen. George M. Crook, Fort Bowie, A.T., Feb. 17, 1886. (One of the rare official documents using Crook's middle initial.)
2. Embudo is the Spanish word for funnel. Hence, the name would seem to denote a canyon comprised of narrow passes or funnels.
3. Letter, Crook to Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan, March 26, 1886.
4. Remarks of Geronimo at first conference, Canyon de los Embudos, March 25, 1886, as contained in Gen. Crook's report to Lt. Gen. Sheridan.
5. Ibid.
6. Remarks of Gen. Crook to Geronimo, first conference.
7. Remarks of Chihuahua, at second conference, Canyon de los Embudos, March 27, 1886, as contained in Crook's report to Sheridan.
8. Remarks of Natchez, second conference, Canyon de los Embudos.
9. Remarks of Geronimo, second conference, Canyon de los Embudos.
10. Remarks of Kaetena, second conference, Canyon de los Embudos.
11. Remarks of Alchisay, second conference, Canyon de los Embudos.
12. Letter, Sheridan to Crook, March 31, 1886.
13. Letter, Sheridan to Crook, Apr. 1, 1886.
14. Letter, Crook to Sheridan, Apr. 1, 1886.
15. Letter, Gen. Nelson A. Miles to his wife, Mary, Apr. 11, 1886.
16. Personal Recollections of Gen. Nelson A. Miles, 496.

17. Ibid., 517.
18. Letter, Lt. John A. Dapray, Fort Grant, A.T. to Maj. Kimball, Whipple Barracks, May 5, 1886.

CHAPTER 7

1. Letter, Miles to Asst. Adj. Gen., Division of Pacific, Presidio, San Francisco, Apr. 24, 1886.
2. Telegram, Lt. Britton Davis, Imuris, Son., to Col. W.B. Royall, Fort Huachuca, 2:30 p.m., May 7, 1886.
3. Telegram, Miles, Huachuca to Capt. William A. Thompson, AAAG, Fort Bowie, 9:10 a.m., May 18, 1886.
4. Heliograph message, station nr. 3, Col. E.B. Beaumont to AAAG, Thompson, Bowie, May 20, 1886.
5. Letter, Maj. Anson Mills to Thompson, May 29, 1886.
6. Letter, Lt. Col. James F. Wade to Thompson, May 29, 1886.
7. Letter, Wade to Thompson, May 30, 1886.
8. Telegram, Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth, Huachuca, to Thompson, Willcox, 11:04 a.m., June 2, 1886.

CHAPTER 8

1. Telegram, Capt. H.W. Lawton, Imuris, to Gen. Miles, Willcox, 10:50 a.m., May 13, 1886.
2. Telegram, Lawton, Imuris, to Miles, Fort Bowie, 9:45 a.m., May 14, 1886.
3. Report, Capt. C.A.P. Hatfield, to Post Adjutant, Fort Huachuca, June 13, 1886.
4. Lawrence R. Jerome, "The Geronimo Campaign," *Journal of the West*, (undated copy) 160.
5. Hatfield, op. cit.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. First Endorsement to Hatfield's Report of June 13, 1886, Col. W.B. Royall, Fort Huachuca, June 14, 1886.
11. S.M. Barrett (Ed) *Geronimo, His Own Story*, 94.
12. Telegram, Lawton, Calabasas, to AAAG Thompson, Willcox, 7:40 p.m., June 2, 1886.
13. Letter, Lawton, Turicachi, Son., to Adjutant General, District of Huachuca, June 20, 1886. (Note: the address on this correspondence is interesting, since it is the only one in thousands of documents read employing the designation "District of Huachuca.")

14. Ibid.
15. Letter, Lt. H.C. Benson, Cumpas, Son., to Gen. Miles, July 6, 1886.
16. Telegram, Miles, Fort Bowie, to Adjutant General, Washington, (via HQ, Division of the Pacific, Presidio, San Francisco), July 22, 1886.
17. A fairly common fate suffered by Apache wives suspected of infidelity.
18. Letter, Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth, San Pedro River, to AAAG, Thompson, Willcox, Aug. 21, 1886.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Letter, Lawton to Royall, Aug. 28, 1886.
22. Letter, Miles to Beaumont, Rucker Canyon, Aug. 21, 1886.
23. Letter, Miles to Lawton, Aug. 31, 1886.
24. Letter, Miles to Lawton, Aug. 23, 1886.

CHAPTER 9

1. Britton Davis, *The Truth About Geronimo*, 318. This is a quote from Gatewood's description of the meeting. The quote was supplied almost verbatim in a letter from Col. Charles B. Gatewood, Jr., to Col. Cornelius C. Smith, on May 9, 1931. This was one of a series of letters wherein Gatewood Jr. described to Smith the Geronimo Campaign Reminiscences of Lt. C.B. Gatewood.
2. Ibid., 319.
3. Ibid., 320.
4. Ibid.
5. Britton Davis, *The Truth About Geronimo*, 321.
6. Miles, *Personal Recollections*, 520.
7. Ibid., 523.
8. Heliograph message, Miles to AAAG Thompson, Sept. 5, 1886.

CHAPTER 10

1. Telegram, Miles to R.C. Drum, Acting Secretary of War, Aug. 28, 1886.
2. Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Grover Cleveland.
3. Telegram, President Cleveland (through Acting Secretary of War, R.C. Drum) to Gen. Miles, Aug. 23, 1886.
4. Endorsement by Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan on President Cleveland's telegram to Miles, Aug. 23, 1886, cited above.
5. Letter, Gen. Miles to his wife, Mary, Oct. 14, 1886.
6. William Crowningshield Endicott, Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Grover Cleveland.
7. Telegram, Gen. Miles to President Cleveland, Sept. 25, 1886.
8. Telegram, R.C. Drum, Acting Secretary of War to Gen. Miles, Sept. 26, 1886.

9. Telegram, Miles to R.C. Drum, Acting Secretary of War, Sept. 29, 1886.
10. Dan L. Thrapp, "Evolution, Use and Effectiveness of the Apache Indian Scouts," Fort Huachuca Historical Museum Newsletter, Fall, 1975, 15.
11. Telegram, Thompson, AAAG to Lt. Col. Forsyth, 4:20 p.m., Sept. 6, 1886.
12. Jason Betzinez, I Fought With Geronimo, 142.
13. Ibid., 143.
14. Telegram, Gen. D. S. Stanley, Department Commander, San Antonio, Texas, to R.C. Drum, Acting Secretary of War, Sept. 1886.
15. Telegram, Stanley, Department Commander, San Antonio, Texas, to R.C. Drum, Acting Secretary of War, Sept. 30, 1886.
16. Telegram, Stanley to Drum, Oct. 1, 1886.
17. Telegram, W.C. Endicott, Secretary of War to Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan, Oct. 19, 1886.
18. Telegram, Maj. Gen. J.M. Schofield, Commanding Division of the Atlantic, to Adjutant General, U.S. Army, Oct. 25, 1886.

CHAPTER 11

1. Report, Lawton to Miles, Aug. 24, 1886; also, U.S. Serial Nr. 2461, 179-80.
2. Ibid.
3. Telegram, George E. Glenn, AAAG, to Gen. Miles, June 24, 1886 (Acting in that capacity temporarily in the absence of Capt. W.A. Thompson).
4. Telegram, Col. Bradley, Santa Fe, to Gen. Miles, Deming, N.M., June 24, 1886.
5. Letter, Capt. John B. Kerr, Camp Henley, N.M., to Thompson, AAAG., May 13, 1886.
6. Letter, Capt. Adna R. Chaffee, Fort Cummings, N.M. to Thompson, AAAG., June 20, 1886.
7. Telegram, Capt. T.C. Lebo, Mohanera Ranch (near Imuris, Son.) to Col. W.B. Royall, Fort Huachuca, 2:30 p.m., May 7, 1886.
8. Telegram, Lt. A.M. Patch, Fort Huachuca to Thompson, AAAG., 6:20 p.m., June 10, 1886.
9. Telegram, Capt. T.C. Lebo, Mowry Mine (via Calabasas) to Gen. Miles, 7:00 p.m., June 13, 1886.
10. Letter, Capt. H.W. Lawton to Gen. Miles, Sept. 2, 1886.
11. Letter, Col. Charles B. Gatewood, Jr. to Col. Cornelius C. Smith, May 9, 1931.

CHAPTER 12

1. Miles, Personal Recollections, 481.

2. Ibid.
3. Telegram, Thompson, AAAG, to Miles, 9 a.m., May 3, 1886.
4. Telegram, Lt. Alvarado M. Fuller to Thompson, AAAG, 9:10 a.m., May 6, 1886.
5. Second Endorsement to Request by Dept. AAAG (Thompson) of June 17, 1886 re: Heliograph operators, by Capt. C.M. Bailey, D. Co., 8th Inf., Fort Huachuca, July 1, 1886.
6. First Endorsement to AAAG'S June 17th Request, by Capt. A. Co. Commander, 8th Inf. (name illegible), Fort Huachuca, June 29, 1886.
7. Heliograph message, Lt. A.M. Fuller to Thompson, AAAG, May 16, 1886.
8. Ibid.
9. Letter, Lt. Edward E. Dravo, Fort Bayard, N.M. to Thompson, AAAG., May 17, 1886.
10. Heliograph message, Lt. A.M. Fuller to Thompson, AAAG, from Station Nr. 5, May 23, 1886.
11. Telegram, Lt. Fuller, Crittenden, to Thompson, AAAG, 7:50 p.m., June 3, 1886.
12. Ibid.
13. Telegram, Lt. Fuller, Willcox, to Thompson, AAAG, 9:00 p.m., June 5, 1886.
14. Telegram, Lt. Fuller, Calabasas, to Thompson, AAAG., 10:29 a.m., June 7, 1886.
15. Letter, Lt. Fuller to Thompson, AAAG., June 15, 1886.
16. Ibid.
17. Letter, Lt. Fuller to Thompson, AAAG., June 15, 1886.
18. Miles, Personal Recollections, 481; Bruno J. Rolak, "General Miles' Mirrors, "The Journal of Arizona History, Summer 1975, pp. 145-158.
19. Charles Franklin Parker, "Signals in the Sun," Arizona Highways, June, 1962, 38.
20. Ibid., 39.
21. Miles, Personal Recollections, 482.
22. Historical Sketch of the U.S. Signal Corps 1860-1941, 28.
23. Telegram, Col. W.B. Royall to Gen. Miles, 8 p.m., May 16, 1886.
24. Letter, Col. E.B. Beaumont to Gen. Miles, June 4, 1886.

CHAPTER 13

1. Telegram, Col. W.B. Royall to Gen. Miles, 5:12 p.m., May 2, 1886.
2. Telegram, Miles to Thompson, AAAG., 8 p.m., May 2, 1886.
3. Letter, Capt. G.A. Whitney, 8th Inf., to First Lt. F. Wheeler, Camp Rucker, May 11, 1886.
4. Findings of Board of Survey at Camp Rucker, Order Nr. 4, May 14, 1886.

5. Finding of Board of Survey, First Endorsement to Order Nr. 4, Camp Cloverdale, N.M. Aug. 9, 1886. Survey signed by Capt. John F. Stretch, 10th Inf.
6. Written testimony to Survey Board, Camp Cloverdale, N.M. Aug. 8, 1886, by Acting Commissary Sgt. Thomas Burke, C Troop, 4th Cavalry.
7. Letter, S.B. Reed to Commander, Military District of Arizona, Aug. 25, 1885.
8. Letter, Ernest Ruch, San Simon Station, A.T. to Capt. C.W. Roberts, Skeleton Canyon, Nov. 12, 1885.
9. Third Endorsement to Official Inquiry concerning claim of Ernest Ruch. Endorsement made by Lt. Britton Davis, Corralitos, Chihuahua, Jan. 2, 1886.
10. Leonard Wood, personal account of 1886 Apache Campaign, Gatewood Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, p. 4.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., 3.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Letter, Capt. John J. Clague, Acting Chief Quartermaster, District of New Mexico, Santa Fe, to AAAG, Dist. N.M., Dec. 3, 1885.
17. Telegram, A.J. McGonnigle, Chief Quartermaster, Dept. Arizona to Capt. C.S. Roberts, Mar. 3, 1886.
18. Report, Capt. Thomas Moore to Capt. C.S. Roberts, Apr. 11, 1886.
19. Telegram, A.J. McGonnigle to Capt. C.S. Roberts, 7:45 p.m., Apr. 13, 1886.
20. Report, Lt. J.M. Neall to Capt. C.S. Roberts, Apr. 22, 1886.
21. Letter, Gen. Miles to Major Kimball, Chief QM Dept. Arizona, May 4, 1886.
22. Letter, Gen. Miles to AAAG, Dept. Pacific, Presidio, San Francisco May 4, 1886.
23. Telegram, Kimball, Chief QM, Dept. Arizona to Gen. Miles, 1:58 p.m., May 17, 1886.
24. Telegram, Capt. John Wesley Pullman, Asst. Chief QM Dept of Arizona, to Maj. Kimball, June 3, 1886.
25. Telegram, Col. W.B. Royall to Gen. Miles, June 9, 1886.
26. Ibid.
27. Letter, Capt. Otho Williams Budd, C Troop, 4th Cavalry to Thompson, AAAG., June 24, 1886.

CHAPTER 14

1. Letter, William J. Ross, Tucson, to Col. W.B. Royall, May 2, 1886.
2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. First Endorsement to Ross' letter of May 2, 1886, by Col. W.B. Royall, May 4, 1886.
6. Telegram, Lt. S.L. Faison, 1st Inf., Tucson, to Thompson, AAAG., 8 p.m., May 13, 1886.
7. Telegram, Capt. Francis C. Pierce, to Thompson, AAAG., 4 p.m., May 13, 1886.
8. Letter, William M. Edwardy, Greaterville, to Gen. Miles, May 14, 1886.
9. Letter, L.C. Hughes, Tucson, to Gen. Miles, May 17, 1886.
10. Telegram, Gen. Miles to Maj. Kimball, 8:40 p.m., June 3, 1886.
11. Telegram, Kimball to Miles, 9:13 p.m., June 3, 1886.
12. Telegram, Col. W.B. Royall to Gen. Miles, 3:42 p.m., June 4, 1886.
13. Telegram, Lt. Wilber E. Wilder, to Thompson, AAAG., 6 p.m., June 3, 1886.
14. Telegram, Maj. Kimball to Gen. Miles, 8:50 p.m., June 3, 1886.
15. Letter, Lt. W.E. Wilder to Thompson, AAAG., June 4, 1886.
16. Telegram, Capt. Chauncey McKeever, AAAG., Dept. Pacific, to Gen. Miles, 12:05 p.m., June 4, 1886.
17. Telegram, McKeever to Gen. Miles, 12:09 p.m., June 7, 1886.
18. Telegram, McKeever to Gen. Miles, 12:20 p.m., June 5, 1886.

CHAPTER 15

1. Major Joseph W. Wham, en route to Fort Thomas with an escort of 11 men from the 10th Cavalry and 24th Infantry was waylaid and robbed of a \$29,000 payroll on May 11, 1889. Two black soldiers, Sgt. Benjamin Brown and Cpl. Isaiah Mays won Medals of Honor for gallantry in this action.
2. Sometimes the Kid's Apache name was spelled Ski-Be-Nan-Ted.
3. Letter, Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth to M. Barber, AAAG., Los Angeles, Calif., May 3, 1887.
4. Ibid.
5. William Cornell Greene was not a military man. The title "Colonel" was appropriated.
6. Interview, Orville A. Cochran, Post Historian, Fort Huachuca, with Mrs. Marguerite (Heller) Vassar, Jan. 26, 1962. Mrs. Vassar was the daughter of Msgr. John A. Heller, who served at Huachuca in 1908.
7. Annual Report, Secretary of War, 1889.
8. Annual Report to the Secretary of War, by Brevet MG Benjamin H. Grierson, Commanding Dept. Arizona (with HQ in Los Angeles, Calif.) Sept. 1, 1889. 186.
9. Ibid.
10. There were no wounds on Holmes' body. Officially his death was attributed to a heart attack suffered during the fracas.

11. Post Returns, Fort Huachuca, May-April, 1896.
12. Annual Report to the Secretary of War, 1896-97, 145-147.
13. Ibid.
14. See Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., Emilio Kosterlitzky, Eagle of Sonora and the Southwest Border, the Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif. 1970.
15. Letter, Claude M. Pettibone to Maj. John H. Healy, 29, 1943. Pettibone's letter was later printed in part on Maj. Healy's column "Huachuca Days," Fort Huachuca Scout, Vol. 2, Nr. 1, June 16, 1955.
16. Tombstone Epitaph, 31 October 1909. p. 1.
17. Ibid.
18. According to Orville A. Cochran, Post Historian at Fort Huachuca for many years. Cochran knew many old-time Fort Huachuca officers and talked with them frequently about Sam Kee.
19. Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, Dec. 28, 1960.
20. Letter, Col. Augustin G. Rudd, to Orville Cochran, June 9, 1965.

CHAPTER 16

1. "Pancho" Villa's real name was Doroteo Arango. Pancho's father, Agustin Arango, was the son of Jesus Villa, but "because of his origin," took his mother's name, Arango. See Martin Luis Guzman, *Memoirs of Pancho Villa*, University of Texas Press, 1965, p. 4.
2. A special elite force brought into existence by Executive Decree of President Porfirio Diaz on Mar. 21, 1885.
3. Steep hills commanding the approaches to Nogales, Sonora. Some of the trenches and revetments are still there.
4. Most of Obregon's men were armed with the Mauser Rifle and other German military equipment. Incredibly, many of the Yaqui auxiliaries wore breech-clouts and were armed with bow and arrow.
5. Military Intelligence Division.
6. Probably started by Dane Coolidge in *Fighting Men of The West*, E.P. Dutton Co., 1932, p. 232, and picked up by news columnists like Harry Carr, L.A. Times, and others.
7. "An Episode of Nogales," Nogales, Arizona, Oasis, Mar. 15, 1913.
8. Nogales, Arizona, Oasis, Vol. 20, Mar. 15, 1913, p. 1.
9. Letter, Col. Cornelius C. Smith to Joe Chisholm, July 26, 1932.
10. James Graham Smith, "Echoes of the Border," an unpublished manuscript. Copy in possession of author.
11. Report, Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky to Secretary of War, Mexico City, Mar. 19. 1913.
12. Report, Alvaro Obregon to Governor of Sonora, as printed in *La Voz de Sonora*, Hermosillo, Oct. 15, 1913, 2.
13. Telegram, Emilio Kosterlitzky to Pedro Ojeda, 10 a.m., Mar. 9, 1913.
14. Telegram, Ojeda to Kosterlitzky, 12:45 p.m., Mar. 9, 1913.

CHAPTER 17

1. Gen. Hugh L. Scott, "Some Memories of a Soldier." New York, 517.
2. A more accurate count would be 485 men, as listed in the Pershing Papers, Library of Congress, Box 372.
3. Directive, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston, Commander, Southern Department, Mar. 10, 1916.
4. Letter, Baker to Funston, Mar. 10, 1916.
5. E.L.N. Glass, History of the 10th Cavalry, 1866-1921. Reprint, The Old Army Press, 1972, p. 68.
6. Ibid.
7. Col. Frank Tompkins, Chasing Villa, 147.
8. Ibid., 148.
9. Letter, Maj. J.A. Ryan, ACS, to Col. W.C. Brown in camp at San Geronimo, Apr. 5, 1918.
10. Tompkins, op. cit., 151.
11. Ibid., 156.
12. Letter, Gen. J.B. Trevino to Gen. Pershing, at Casas Grandes, June 16, 1916.
13. Tompkins, op. cit., 209. E.L.N. Glass' figures are slightly different.
14. Directive, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, to Gen. Pershing, June 17, 1916.
15. Excerpts from a speech delivered by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge before the Lynn, Massachusetts Republican Club, Mar. 17, 1916.

CHAPTER 18

1. The regiments, except for line officer Benjamin O. Davis and occasional chaplains, had all-white officers. The senior officers of the division were white, but many line junior officers and medical detachment personnel were black.
2. Jesse J. Johnson, A Pictorial History of Black Soldiers in the United States, 1619-1969. 21.
3. Ibid.
4. Letter, Capt. William H. Beck to Regimental Adjutant, 10th Cavalry, July 5, 1898.
5. General Order Nr. 25, HQ. Dept. of Louisiana, Apr. 13, 1869.
6. Approved by letter AG 424.5, 30 Dec., 1921. The arrow in the clutched gauntlet represents Indian campaign service; the bolo represents Philippine service; steadfastness of the regiment is portrayed by the iron gauntlet. The blockhouse represents service at El Caney, Cuba; the Royal Palm comes from the Cuban coat-of-arms.

CHAPTER 19

1. Report, Nr. 251, HQ., Southern Department, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, to War Dept., Jan. 19, 1918.
2. "Ambos" is the Spanish word for "both," in this case indicating that the clash of Aug. 27, 1918, saw fire concentrated on both sides of the border city of Nogales.
3. Military Intelligence Department personnel had warned repeatedly of German espionage along the border, and German tacticians working with Mexican troops across the line.
4. Col. Harold B. Wharfield, 10th Cavalry and Border Fights, self-published, 1965, 19.
5. John H. Nankivell, History of the 25th Regiment of United States Infantry, 144.

CHAPTER 20

1. Mrs. Frederick Theodore Arnold, "Information From Some Letters I Wrote in 1918," as provided in a letter to Orville A. Cochran, Post Historian, Fort Huachuca, Oct. 1961. (A striker was an enlisted man paid servant, a common place entity in the "old" army, non-existent in today's military society.)
2. Ibid. Obviously pre-integration.
3. Col. Rodney preceded Col. Arnold as Post Commander (Oct. 29, 1917-Jan. 25, 1918), and took over again when Arnold left, serving from July 11, 1918 to Oct. 29, 1918.
4. From the old octagonal-shaped band pavilion on the southeast corner of the parade ground, corner of Boyd and Grierson Avenues. Plans were made to "duplicate" it in 1975, as an army bicentennial project, but were scrapped because of cost factors.
5. No longer. Commissary and post exchange services provide virtually all domestic needs.
6. A historically interesting but highly commercialized community today.
7. German offensive on the Marne, May, 1918.
8. Summer is the rainy season in southeastern Arizona, commencing usually in early July and extending into September. By autumn, the rainy season is usually over.
9. This is still a problem with water rationed in dry periods, permitting watering of lawns and plants at specified times only.
10. Located directly in rear of the post commander's quarters.
11. Summer lightning storms frequently cause large fires in the heavy timbers of the Huachuca Mountains. Companies, even battalions of soldiers are trucked to fire-breaks from whence they climb to fight the fires. Aircraft from Libby Airfield drop "slurry," a chemical compound which extinguishes fire.

12. Chaplain O.J.W. Scott, who preceded Chaplain Louis A. Carter the only chaplain to serve with all four black regiments of the U.S. Army.
13. In the World War I era, the cannon by the flag pole fired regular blank rounds making a "real honest-to-God" bang, at reveille, retreat, and other ceremonies. Today, cartridges are used, sounding somewhat like small firecrackers.
14. Particularly in the lush green area of Sonoita Creek near Patagonia.
15. Wife of Lt. Lewis Craig, Post Quartermaster at Camp Huachuca in 1877, and mother of Gen. Malin Craig, U.S. Army Chief of Staff in 1935.
16. A tradition in the old British Army, adopted occasionally on U.S. posts at the desire of the commanding officer.

CHAPTER 21

1. A camp used by border troops since 1910. In 1915, it was officially named Camp Stephen D. Little. It should have been Littles, for Private Stephen D. Littles, of L Co., 12th U.S. Infantry, who was killed in a border skirmish with Mexican soldiers in 1915. A company clerk misspelled Littles' name; the error stood.
2. A person whose hobby is speleology, or cave exploration. From the Latin Spelunca, cave.
3. One of these is a fine and daring young officer, First Lt. Dan Christensen, of the Post Public Affairs Office. Dan has made numerous trips into Pyeatt Cave, going in for several miles upon occasion.

CHAPTER 22

1. 10th U.S. Cavalry, 25th U.S. Infantry.
2. Souvenir Booklet, 64th Anniversary, Organization 25th U.S. Infantry. p. 6. Booklet, published on Apr. 20, 193, lists athletic records of 1932-33.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 19.
7. Ibid., 20.
8. W.P.A. "Construction file," Fort Huachuca, 1938. Copy in Post Museum.
9. Interview, Carol Clarke (Post Civil Engineer employee) with Orville A. Cochran, Post Historian, Feb. 16, 1962.
10. Ibid.

CHAPTER 23

1. Public Law 181, Aug. 1, 1866, followed by War Dept. G.O. 56, same date.
2. Circular Nr. 7, AGO, HQ, U.S.A., Washington, June 10, 1890, 1.
3. Report, Maj. Gen. Henry Wager Halleck, Commanding Dept. of the Pacific, to Adjutant General, Sept. 18, 1867.
4. Report, Brevet Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele, Commanding Dept. of Colombia, to Adjutant General, Aug. 20, 1867.
5. G.O. Nr. 56, AGO, HQ., U.S.A. Washington, Apr. 19, 1867.
6. Telegram, Lt. Col. James Franklin Wade to Thompson, AAAG., May 17, 1886.
7. Circular Nr. 9, AGO, HQ, U.S.A., Washington, Oct. 8, 1886.
8. Circular Nr. 7, AGO, HQ., U.S.A., Washington, Aug. 15, 1887.
9. As: Alchisay, Blanquet, Chiquito, Elatsoosu, Jim, Kelsay, Koshoa, Machol, Nannasaddie, Nantaje, and Rowdy. See *The Medal of Honor of the United States Army*, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1948, pp. 218-235.
10. Circular Nr. 10, AGO, HQ., U.S.A., Washington, Aug. 11, 1890.
11. Ibid.
12. *Regulations for the Army of the United States*, 1913, 483.
13. As Ka-Gethl, Y-2; Chow Big, T-5, etc.
14. Letter, Second Lt. Robert Douglas Walsh to Capt. Cyrus Swan Roberts, Apr. 3, 1886.
15. Telegram, Lt. Samson L. Faison to Gen. Miles, 7:10 p.m., May 15, 1886.
16. Letter, Maj. Anson Mills to Capt. W.A. Thompson, June 3, 1886.
17. Letter, Capt. Benjamin H. Rogers to Thompson, AAAG., June 13, 1886.
18. Letter, Lt. Col. James F. Wade to Gen. Miles, June 15, 1886.
19. Dan L. Thrapp, "The Evolution, Use, and Effectiveness of the Apache Indian Scouts," *Fort Huachuca Historical Museum Newsletter*, Nr. 4, Fall, 1975, 7.
20. See: *The Medal of Honor of the United States Army*, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1948. Pp. 218-235. The book lists individual citations.
21. Col. Harold B. Wharfield, Alchesay, privately printed, 1969, 16.
22. Uncomplimentary name given to the low dives built on the outskirts of frontier army posts. A place of prostitution and rot-gut whiskey.
23. A repeated charge made by Geronimo to generals Crook and Miles. See Britton Davis, *The Truth About Geronimo*, 286, 291.
24. Wherein Chief of Scouts Al Sieber was shot in a drunken brawl and The Kid became an outlaw.
25. Col. George Brydges Rodney, *As A Cavalryman Remembers*, 187.
26. It was in the Mar. 7, 1890, skirmish that Indian scout Rowdy won his Medal of Honor. Josh was along, but did not distinguish himself in any other way than severing the head of Pash-Ten-Tah.

27. Interview, Esther Buchanan Smith with Orville A. Cochran, Post Historian, Fort Huachuca, Aug. 16, 1961.
28. Letter, George E. Maker, Sr. to Dr. Cornelius C. Smith, Jr., Nov. 28, 1974.
29. On Saturday, June 14, 1975, at Barnes Field House, Fort Huachuca.
30. Letter, Lt. Col. M.G. Faris, 25th Inf., Fort Huachuca, to Col. Cornelius C. Smith, Aug. 20, 1935.
31. Interview, Dr. Bruno J. Rolak, USACC Historian with Sgt. Joe Kessay, 1973.
32. Interview, Dr. Bruno J. Rolak, USACC Historian with Sgt. William Major, 1973.
33. Remarks by Sgt. Sinew L. Riley at Fort Huachuca, on Aug. 1, 1936, on the 70th Anniversary of the Activation of the Indian scouts.

CHAPTER 24

1. All senior staff officers, regimental, and battalion commanders were white, and many junior officers. As training progressed at Fort Huachuca, more black officers joined the division.
2. A.E.F., American Expeditionary Force, in France.
3. Interview, Orville A. Cochran, Post Historian, with Col. Edwin Noel Hardy, July 9, 1960.
4. Douglas (Arizona) Dispatch, Nov. 24, 1942, 2.
5. Nancy Shea, the WAACS, 201-202.
6. Myrtle died on Saturday, Sept. 12, 1942.
7. Arizona Republic, Phoenix, Oct. 19, 1942.
8. On July 8, 1942.
9. "...the sentence is confirmed, but is commuted to Dishonorable Discharge...and confinement at hard labor for the term of the natural life of the accused...."
10. Col. Clarence C.O. Brunner, unpublished manuscript, History of Fort Huachuca, excerpts in files, Post Museum, Fort Huachuca.
11. "Hangman's Warehouse," Bldg. Nr. 3007. The place is now used as a commissary warehouse. The trapdoor is still there.
12. On Dec. 18, 1942.
13. Statement, Joseph McCrea, post veterinarian, in files, Post Museum, Fort Huachuca.
14. FBI Files, Phoenix Office, 70-159, as contained in Post Museum Files, Fort Huachuca,
15. Ibid.

CHAPTER 25

1. Letter emanating from The Army War College, Washington, D.C.

2. Movements were made in "Serials," or numerical sequences.
3. 92nd Division historical notes, Post Museum, Fort Huachuca.
4. The 92nd Division insignia was approved by telegram from the Adjutant General A.E.F. to Cmdr, 92nd Division, Oct. 20, 1918.
5. The castle denoted service in Puerto Rico.
6. The Red Hand and the Gold Bend charged with the Red Bendlet commemorate service during World War I. The bendlet indicates service in the defensive sectors in Alsace and Lorraine. The Arms of Alsace have a bend or gold bar thereon, and the Arms of Lorraine a bend gules (red).
7. Para. 5, AR 260-10.
8. On the occasion of the regiment's very first engagement, from Sept. 26 to Oct. 1, 1918.
9. The Negro Handbook, compiled by editors of Ebony Magazine, 1966, 295.
10. Arizona Daily Star, Dec. 23, 1943, 2.
11. Ibid., "Huachuca Great Training Center," p. 2.
12. Ibid., "92nd Division has Hard Training Job," p. 2.
13. Ibid., "Morale Essential in Combat School," p. 4.
14. Ibid., "Isolated Fort is Unique Army Post," p. 5.
15. Bisbee Daily Review, Friday, Aug. 27, 1943.

CHAPTER 26

1. Real name Charles Jesse Jones, born in McLean County, Illinois, 1844, died in Topeka, Kansas in 1919.
2. A little later on, in July, the 68th Signal Co. sent four officers and 80 men to conduct Operation Checkpoint at Fort Huachuca. They were impressed by the roaming herds of buffalo.
3. Dick Stitt, "Fort Huachuca Enterprises," Arizona Highways, Jan. 1951, 2.
4. Today, tiny, cramped mobile-home trailers in the communities surrounding Fort Huachuca rent for several times that sum.

CHAPTER 27

1. These buildings, like their counterparts in active and abandoned military installations all over the country were designed for "temporary" use. Many were demolished or sold by the War Assets Administration after World War II; many still stand, and many still serve now, in 1976 A.D.
2. The 360/30 substantially supports the operation of a standard DA base.

CHAPTER 28

1. Named for William Babcock Hazen, the army's chief signal officer in 1880. Graduate USMA, 1851. Was a Brig. Gen. of Volunteers in 1862, Maj. Gen. in 1864. Distinguished himself at Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and Siege of Atlanta. Died Jan. 16, 1887.
2. Named for James Allen, USMA, class of 1872. Succeeded Gen. Adolphus Greely as army's chief signal officer, Feb. 19, 1906. Died Feb. 19, 1933, 27 years to the day from his appointment as chief signal officer.
3. Named for Col. Gordon Johnson, a signal corps officer who had the unique distinction of being the first officer of the army to be awarded five of its highest decorations: Medal of Honor, D.S.M., D.S.C., Silver Star, and Purple Heart.
4. Named for Albert James Myer, the army's first chief signal officer, while serving in Indian country. He became interested in the Indian method of communicating by signal fires and smoke. Working refinements into these primitive methods he designed a workable system which was used at the outbreak of the Civil War. Fort Myer, Virginia, is named in his honor.
5. Named for Col. Cornelius C. Smith, Medal of Honor recipient for gallantry against Sioux Indians at Little Grass Creek, South Dakota, Jan. 1, 1891, and Post Commander at Fort Huachuca in 1918-19 while commanding 10th U.S. Cavalry.
6. Named for Dr. Maria Montessori, Italian educator and physician, 1870-1952. Dr. Montessori was the first woman to receive a medical degree in Italy (1894). Originator of the Montessori method of education for pre-school children.
7. Named for General Raymond Whitcomb Bliss, Surgeon General, U.S. Army, June 1, 1947 to June 30, 1951.
8. Named for Sgt. George D. Libby, Medal of Honor winner near Taejon, South Korea, July 20, 1950.
9. Named for PFC Clyde E. Murr, a Sierra Vista, Arizona, boy who was killed in action in Vietnam while serving with the First Battalion 26th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division. He is believed to be the first local resident (Sierra Vista and environs) to die in Vietnam.
10. Also involved was Dorothy Hall, Arizona State Historic Sites Preservation Officer.
11. Line 702.

SOURCES

LETTERS

Aug. 20, 1867	Maj. Gen. Frederick Steele to Adjutant General, U.S. Army.
Sept. 18, 1867	Maj. Gen. Henry W. Halleck to Adjutant General, U.S. Army.
Sept. 18, 1877	Capt. Tullius Cicero Tupper to Post Adjutant, Camp Grant, A.T.
Sept. 28, 1877	Lt. Robert Hanna to Capt. S.M. Whitside.
Sept. 3, 1878	Capt. S.M. Whitside to Assistant Adjutant General, Dept. of Arizona.
Aug. 25, 1885	S.B. Reed to Commander, Military Dist. Arizona.
Nov. 12, 1885	Ernest Ruch to Capt. C.W. Roberts.
Dec. 3, 1885	Capt. John J. Clague to Capt. W.A. Thompson, AAAG, Dept Arizona.
Feb. 17, 1886	Ramon Corral to Brig. Gen. George Crook.
Mar. 26, 1886	Brig. Gen. Crook to Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan.
Mar. 31, 1886	Lt. Gen. Sheridan to Brig. Gen. Crook.
April 1, 1886	Lt. Gen. Sheridan to Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles.
April 1, 1886	Brig. Gen. Crook to Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan.
April 3, 1886	2d Lt. Robert D. Walsh to Capt. C.S. Roberts.
April 11, 1886	Capt. Thomas Moore to Capt. C.S. Roberts.
April 11, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to his wife, Mary.
April 22, 1886	Lt. J.M. Neall to Capt. C.S. Roberts.
April 24, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to AAG, Division of the Pacific, Presidio.
May 2, 1886	William J. Ross to Col. W.B. Royall.
May 4, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to Maj. Amos S. Kimball.
May 4, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to AAG, Dept. of Pacific, Presidio.
May 5, 1886	Lt. John A. Dapray to Maj. Amos S. Kimball.
May 11, 1886	Capt. G.A. Whitney to 1st Lt. F. Wheeler.
May 13, 1886	Capt. John B. Kerr to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May 14, 1886	William M. Edwardy to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May 17, 1886	Lt. Edward E. Dravo to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May 17, 1886	L.C. Hughes to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May 29, 1886	Maj. Anson Mills to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May 29, 1886	Lt. Col. James F. Wade to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May 30, 1886	Lt. Col. J.F. Wade to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June 3, 1886	Maj. Anson Mills to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June 4, 1886	Col. E.B. Beaumont to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June 4, 1886	Lt. Wilber E. Wilder to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June 12, 1886	Capt. Benjamin H. Rogers to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June 13, 1886	Capt. C.A.P. Hatfield to Regt. Adj., Fort Huachuca.
June 15, 1886	Lt. Alvarado M. Fuller to Capt. W.A. Thompson.

June	20, 1886	Capt. H.W. Lawton to Adj. Gen. "Dist. of Huachuca."
June	20, 1886	Capt. Adna R. Chaffee to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	24, 1886	Capt. Otho Williams Budd to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
July	6, 1886	Lt. H.C. Benson to Brig. Gen. Miles.
Aug.	21, 1886	Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
Aug.	21, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to Col. E.B. Beaumont.
Aug.	23, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to Col. E.B. Beaumont.
Aug.	24, 1886	Capt. H.W. Lawton to Brig. Gen. Miles.
Aug.	28, 1886	Capt. H.W. Lawton to Col. W.B. Royall.
Aug.	31, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to Capt. H.W. Lawton.
Oct.	14, 1886	Brig. Gen. Miles to his wife, Mary.
May	3, 1887	Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth to Maj. Merritt Barber.
July	5, 1898	Capt. William H. Beck to Regt, Adj. 10th Cavalry.
Mar.	10, 1916	Newton D. Baker to Gen. Frederick Funston.
June	16, 1916	Gen. J.B. Trevino to Gen. John J. Pershing.
April	5, 1918	Maj. J.A. Ryan to Col. W.L. Brown.
May	9, 1931	Col. C.B. Gatewood, Jr. to Col. Cornelius C. Smith.
July	26, 1932	Col. C.C. Smith to Joe Chisholm.
Aug.	20, 1935	Lt. Col. M.G. Faris to Col. C.C. Smith.
April	20, 1943	Claude M. Pettibone to Maj. John H. Healy.
Oct.	10, 1961	Mrs. Frederick Theodore Arnold to Orville Cochran.
June	9, 1965	Col. Augustus G. Rudd to Orville Cochran.
Nov.	28, 1974	George E. Maker, Sr., to Dr. Cornelius C. Smith, Jr.

TELEGRAMS

Mar.	3, 1886		A.J. McGonnigle to Capt. C.S. Roberts.
April	13, 1886		A.J. McGonnigle to Capt. C.S. Roberts.
May	2, 1886	5:12 p.m.	Col. W.B. Royall to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	2, 1886	8:00 p.m.	Brig. Gen. Miles to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May	3, 1886		Capt. W.A. Thompson to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	6, 1886		Lt. A.M. Fuller to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May	7, 1886	2:30 p.m.	Capt. T.C. Lebo to Col. W.B. Royall.
May	7, 1886	2:30 p.m.	Lt. Britton Davis to Col. W.B. Royall.
May	13, 1886	10:50 a.m.	Capt. H.W. Lawton to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	13, 1886	4:00 p.m.	Capt. Francis C. Pierce to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May	13, 1886	8:00 p.m.	Lt. S.L. Faison to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May	14, 1886	9:45 a.m.	Capt. H.W. Lawton to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	15, 1886	7:10 p.m.	Lt. S.L. Faison to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	16, 1886	8:00 p.m.	Col. W.B. Royall to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	17, 1886		Lt. Col. James F. Wade to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
May	17, 1886	1:58 p.m.	Maj. Amos Kimball to Brig. Gen. Miles.
May	18, 1886	9:10 p.m.	Brig. Gen. Miles to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	2, 1886	11:00 a.m.	Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth to Capt. W.A. Thompson.

June	2, 1886	7:40 p.m.	Capt. H.W. Lawton to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	3, 1886	6:00 p.m.	Lt. Wilber E. Wilder to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	3, 1886	7:50 p.m.	Lt. A.M. Fuller to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	3, 1886	8:40 p.m.	Brig. Gen. Miles to Maj. Amos Kimball.
June	3, 1886	8:50 p.m.	Maj. Kimball to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	3, 1886	9:12 p.m.	Maj. Kimball to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	3, 1886		Capt. John Wesley Pullman to Maj. Kimball.
June	4, 1886	12:05 p.m.	Lt. Col. Chauncey McKeever to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	4, 1886	3:42 p.m.	Col. W.B. Royall to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	5, 1886	9:00 p.m.	Lt. A.M. Fuller to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	7, 1886	10:29 a.m.	Lt. A.M. Fuller to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	7, 1886	12:09 a.m.	Lt. Col. Chauncey McKeever to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	9, 1886		Col. W.B. Royall to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	10, 1886	6:20 p.m.	Lt. Alexander McCarrell Patch to Capt. W.A. Thompson.
June	13, 1886	7:00 p.m.	Capt. T.C. Lebo to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	24, 1886		Col. Bradley to Brig. Gen. Miles.
June	24, 1886		George E. Glenn to Brig. Gen. Miles.
July	22, 1886		Brig. Gen. Miles to Adjutant General, U.S. Army.
Aug.	23, 1886		President Grover Cleveland to Brig. Gen. Miles.
Aug.	28, 1886		Brig. Gen. Miles to Brig. Gen. Richard Coulter Drum, Acting Secretary of War.
Sept.	10, 1886		Brig. Gen. D.S. Stanley to Brig. Gen. R.C. Drum.
Sept.	25, 1886		Brig. Gen. Miles to President Grover Cleveland.
Sept.	25, 1886		Brig. Gen. R.C. Drum to Brig. Gen. Miles.
Sept.	29, 1886		Brig. Gen. Miles to Brig. Gen. R.C. Drum.
Sept.	30, 1886		Brig. Gen. D.S. Stanley to Brig. Gen. R.C. Drum.
Oct.	1, 1886		Brig. Gen. D.S. Stanley to Brig. Gen. R.C. Drum.
Oct.	19, 1886		W.C. Endicott to Lt. Gen. P.H. Sheridan.
Oct.	25, 1886		Maj. Gen. J.M. Schofield to Adjutant General U.S. Army.
Mar.	9, 1913	10:00 a.m.	Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky to Gen. Pedro Ojeda.
Mar.	9, 1913	12:45 p.m.	Gen. Pedro Ojeda to Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky.

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THE POST COMMANDERS OF FORT HUACHUCA

THE LIST DOES NOT INCLUDE BREVET RANKS OF COMMANDERS

MOH IDENTIFIES MEDAL OF HONOR WINNERS

COMMANDER	UNITS	DATES OF COMMAND			
WHITSIDE, Samuel Marmaduke	CPT 6th Cav	3 Mar	1877	28 Mar	1881
TUPPER, Tullius Cicero	CPT 6th Cav	24 Apr	1881	16 Aug	1881
DOVE, William Edgar	CPT 12th Inf	30 Sep	1881	27 Oct	1881
SANFORD, George Bliss	MAJ 1st Cav	1 Nov	1881	16 Nov	1881
TUPPER, Tullius Cicero	CPT 6th Cav	16 Nov	1881	28 Mar	1882
DOVE, William Edgar	CPT 12th Inf	28 Mar	1882	12 May	1882
MADDEN, Daniel	CPT 6th Cav	12 May	1882	4 Sep	1882
MASON, Julius Wilmot	MAJ 3rd Cav	4 Sep	1882	19 Dec	1882
NOLAN, Nickolas	MAJ 3rd Cav	1 Feb	1883	29 Jul	1883
MORROW, Albert Payson	LTC 6th Cav	29 Jul	1883	Sep	1883
CHAFFEE, Adna Romanza	CPT 6th Cav	Oct	1883	20 Jun	1884
MIZNER, John Kemp	MAJ 4th Cav	21 Jun	1884	15 Sep	1884
WOOD, Abram Epperson	CPT 4th Cav	16 Sep	1884	18 Jan	1885
ROYALL, William Bedford	COL 4th Cav	24 Jan	1885	24 May	1885
FORSYTH, George Alexander	LTC 4th Cav	21 Jun	1885	12 Dec	1885
ROYALL, William Bedford	COL 4th Cav	13 Dec	1885	30 Jul	1886
FORSYTH, George Alexander	LTC 4th Cav	31 Jul	1886	28 Feb	1888
COMPTON, Charles Elmer	COL 4th Cav	Feb	1888	Nov	1888
BRAYTON, George Mitchell	LTC 9th Inf	Jan	1889	9 Oct	1889
COONEY, Michael	MAJ 4th Cav	10 Oct	1889	9 Jun	1890
GORDON, David Stuart	LTC 2nd Cav	10 Jun	1890	12 Oct	1891
DeRUSSY, Isaac Denniston	COL 11th Inf	16 Oct	1891	4 May	1892
GORDON, David Stuart	LTC 2nd Cav	4 May	1892	25 Aug	1892
HASKELL, Joseph Theodore	MAJ 24th Inf	25 Aug	1892	21 Sep	1892
NOYES, Henry Erastus	LTC 2nd Cav	21 Sep	1892	27 Jul	1893
CRANDAL, Frederick Mortimer	CPT 24th Inf	27 Jul	1893	24 Nov	1893
VAN VALZAH, David Dougall	LTC 24th Inf	25 Nov	1893	19 Jun	1896
NOWLAN, Henry James	MAJ 7th Cav	20 Jun	1896	10 Jul	1896
BACON, John Mosby	LTC 1st Cav	11 Jul	1896	7 Aug	1897
NOWLAN, Henry James	MAJ 7th Cav	8 Aug	1897	8 Apr	1898
MOALE, Edward	COL 15th Inf	9 Apr	1898	7 Oct	1898
SANBORN, Washington Irving	CPT 25th Inf	8 Oct	1898	18 Oct	1898
WRIGHT, Henry Haviland	CPT 9th Cav	21 Oct	1898	7 Dec	1898
DAGGETT, Aron Simon	COL 14th Inf	9 Jan	1899	12 Apr	1899
HUGHES, Martin Briggs	MAJ 9th Cav	12 Apr	1899	26 Jul	1899
WRIGHT, Henry Haviland	CPT 9th Cav	27 Jul	1899	25 Oct	1899
HUGHES, Marton Briggs	MAJ 9th Cav	2 Oct	1899	24 Jul	1900
MACOMB, August Canfield	CPT 5th Cav	27 Jul	1900	8 Mar	1901
POWERS, Robert Boyd	LT 7th Cav	9 Mar	1901	12 Sep	1901
PALMER, Guy George	CPT 30th Inf	13 Sep	1901	12 Feb	1902
O'CONNOR, Charles Mallon	MAJ 14th Cav	13 Feb	1902	24 Aug	1903
HOLBROOK, Willard Ames	CPT 5th Cav	25 Aug	1903	22 Sep	1903
PADDOCK, George Hussey	LTC 5th Cav	15 Oct	1903	21 Mar	1904
STEDMAN, Clarence Augustus	COL 5th Cav	22 Mar	1904	26 Jul	1906
DAY, Clarence Richmond	CPT 5th Cav	27 Jul	1906	7 Sep	1906
WATTS, Charles Henry	MAJ 5th Cav	7 Sep	1906	14 Oct	1906
STEVENS, Charles Josiah	MAJ 5th Cav	28 Oct	1906	12 Dec	1906

COMMANDER	UNITS		DATES OF COMMAND			
SCHUYLER, Walter Scribner	COL	5th Cav	27 Dec 1906	16 May 1907		
STEVENS, Charles Josiah	MAJ	5th Cav	3 Jun 1907	5 Nov 1907		
JENKINS, John Murray	CPT	5th Cav	6 Nov 1907	22 May 1908		
SCHUYLER, Walter Scribner	COL	5th Cav	23 May 1908	31 Dec 1908		
ALLEN, Henry Tureman	MAJ	8th Cav	1 Jan 1909	2 Sep 1910		
RIPLEY, Henry Lewis	MAJ	8th Cav	7 Sep 1910	18 Nov 1910		
BABCOCK, Walter Crobsy	CPT	13th Cav	16 Dec 1910	22 Jan 1911		
MICHIE, Robert Edward Lee	CPT	12th Cav	23 Jan 1911	14 Mar 1911		
SHUNK, William Alexander	LTC	1st Cav	16 Mar 1911	25 Apr 1911		
SICKEL, Horatio Gates	LTC	12th Cav	12 May 1911	30 Jun 1911		
O'CONNOR, Charles Matton	COL	6th Cav	10 Jul 1911	10 Jan 1912		
GALBRAITH, Jacob Garretson	LTC	4th Cav	10 Jan 1912	15 Nov 1912		
BEACH, William Dorrance	COL	4th Cav	16 Nov 1912	3 Jan 1913		
WILDER, Wilber Elliott (MOH)	COL	5th Cav	13 Jan 1913	20 Dec 1913		
GRESHAM, John Chowning (MOH)	COL	10th Cav	21 Dec 1913	1 Aug 1914		
BROWN, William Carey	COL	10th Cav	8 Sep 1914	9 Mar 1916		
GRIERSON, Charles H.	COL	10th Cav	Oct 1914	Nov 1914		
GRISELL, Elbert Lynn	LT	10th Cav	15 May 1916	1 Dec 1916		
BLAINE, Robert	CPT	10th Cav	2 Dec 1916	13 Feb 1917		
CABELL, DeRosey Carroll	COL	10th Cav	14 Feb 1917	21 Aug 1917		
DIXON, Varian Delmar	LTC	10th Cav	26 Aug 1917	28 Oct 1917		
RODNEY, George Brydges	LTC	10th Cav	29 Oct 1917	25 Jan 1918		
CABELL, DeRosey Carroll	COL	10th Cav	26 Jan 1918	15 Feb 1918		
ARNOLD, Frederick Theodore	COL	10th Cav	15 Feb 1918	11 Jul 1918		
RODNEY, George Brydges	COL	10th Cav	11 Jul 1918	29 Oct 1918		
SMITH, Cornelius Cole (MOH)	COL	10th Cav	30 Oct 1918	22 Feb 1919		
CORNELL, William Albert	COL	10th Cav	23 Feb 1919	28 Mar 1919		
WHITE, George Philip	COL	10th Cav	13 Apr 1919	21 Aug 1919		
CARLETON, Guy	COL	10th Cav	22 Aug 1919	23 Oct 1919		
WHITE, George Philip	COL	10th Cav	24 Oct 1919	13 Nov 1919		
MEYER, Oren Browning	COL	10th Cav	14 Nov 1919	1 May 1920		
MARSHALL, Francis Cutler	COL	10th Cav	2 May 1920	3 Aug 1920		
WINANS, Edwin Baruch	COL	10th Cav	23 Aug 1920	10 Feb 1923		
MYERS, Ju Blakemore	LTC	10th Cav	11 Feb 1923	30 Dec 1923		
RHEA, James Cooper	COL	10th Cav	31 Dec 1923	19 Apr 1926		
GRUNERT, George	LTC	10th Cav	20 Apr 1926	20 Aug 1926		
SCHERER, Louis Charles	COL	10th Cav	21 Aug 1926	5 May 1928		
RETHORST, Otto William	LTC	10th Cav	6 May 1928	9 Jul 1928		
McCASKEY, Douglas	COL	10th Cav	9 Jul 1928	25 Nov 1929		
BROWN, Lewis Jr.	LTC	10th Cav	26 Nov 1929	30 Jun 1930		
SIEBURN, Thomas Lilley	COL	10th Cav	1 Jul 1930	25 Nov 1931		
MOSELEY, Robert Louis	LTC	25th Inf	Jan 1932	19 Apr 1932		
WARREN, Shields	MAJ	25th Inf	19 Apr 1932	1 Jul 1932		
TOMLINSON, Matthew Henry	LTC	25th Inf	2 Jul 1932	4 Jan 1933		
KNOX, Robert Soutter	COL	25th Inf	5 Jan 1933	2 Sep 1934		
FRANKLIN, John Francis	COL	25th Inf	10 Oct 1934	25 Jul 1936		
ROBINSON, William Franklin, Jr	COL	25th Inf	Aug 1936	20 Aug 1938		
DAVIS, Lee Dunnington	COL	25th Inf	8 Sep 1938	1 Jul 1941		
McGEE, Arthur Pierson	LTC	Inf	Aug 1941	14 Oct 1941		
McADAM, William A.	LTC	24th Inf	15 Oct 1941	3 Dec 1941		
McGEE, Arthur Person	LTC	Inf	3 Dec 1941	Mar 1942		
HARDY, Edwin Noel	COL	Cav	Oct 1942	17 Jul 1945		
SMITH, Charles Rufus	COL	Inf	20 Aug 1945	27 Dec 1945		
LAMB, Roscoe Leighton	LTC	Cav	28 Dec 1945	27 Feb 1946		

COMMANDER	UNITS		DATES OF COMMAND			
APPLEMAN, Gustave Benson	COL	Inf	28 Feb 1946	12 Jun 1946		
MEIK, Francis James	MAJ	QMC	24 Jun 1946	7 Oct 1946		
ROBERTS, William Lynn	COL	Inf	8 Oct 1946	29 Aug 1947		

FORT HUACHUCA INACTIVATED 15 Sep 47

FORT HUACHUCA REACTIVATED 20 Apr 51

KIRBY, Alexander Griswold	COL	Arty	20 Apr 1951	14 Jun 1951		
DUNNE, Davis Morris, Jr.	COL	CE	14 Jun 1951	19 Jun 1953		

FORT HUACHUCA INACTIVATED 30 Jun 53

FORT HUACHUCA REACTIVATED 1 Feb 54

McLAMB, Nathan B.	COL		19 Jun 1953	6 Jul 1953		
DRAPER, Howard A.	MAJ		6 Jul 1953	1 Aug 1953		
COTTRELL, Charles D.	LTC		1 Aug 1953	30 Sep 1953		
SCHUBERT, Woodrow H.	MAJ		1 Oct 1953	1 Feb 1954		
COOK, Earl F.	COL		1 Feb 1954	14 Feb 1954		
LENZNER, Emil	MG		15 Feb 1954	9 Jun 1957		
THAMES, William Mackintyre	BG		10 Jun 1957	17 Jun 1957		
NELSON, Ralph Thomas	BG		17 Jun 1957	21 Jul 1958		
MOORMAN, Frank Willoughby	MG		28 Aug 1958	23 Jan 1960		
BURCH, Charles Herpel	COL		24 Jan 1960	27 Feb 1960		
UIRIHANE, Francis Frederick	MG		28 Feb 1960	1 Sep 1963		
POCHYLA, Benjamin H.	MG		1 Sep 1963	30 Sep 1966		
ANGEL, Nicholas	COL		1 Oct 1966	10 Feb 1967		
MEYER, Richard John	MG		11 Feb 1967	31 Jan 1968		

On 1 July, 1967, Command Structure changed from Headquarters, United States Army Electronic Proving Ground to: Headquarters, U.S. Army Garrison.

METTE, Clarence O.	COL		1 Jul 1967	27 Oct 1967		
*LOTZ, Walter E.	MG		1 Feb 1968	9 Sep 1969		
GUY, David R.	COL		27 Oct 1967	1 Aug 1969		
*LATTA, William B.	MG		10 Sep 1969	28 Oct 1971		
REGNER, William J.	COL		2 Aug 1969	27 Aug 1969		

On 15 August, 1969, Command Structure changed from Headquarters, U.S. Army Garrison to: Headquarters, Fort Huachuca.

ANDERSON, Ben L.	COL		28 Aug 1969	30 Apr 1971		
*ALBRIGHT, Jack A.	MG		29 Oct 1971	30 Apr 1976		
GREEN, George E.	COL		1 May 1971	13 Sep 1972		
CORLEY, Arthur V.	COL		14 Sep 1972	13 Sep 1977		
*GROMBACHER, Gerd S.	MG		30 Apr 1976			
YODER, Donald A.	COL		14 Sep 1977			

*Installation Commanders, including host, tenant, and support units.

HOSPITAL COMMANDING OFFICERS 1878 - 1967

Feb 1878	-	Sep 1878	A.A.S.	Lightburne, R.E.
Oct 1878	-	Dec 1878	A.A.S.	Strom, J.H.
Jan 1879	-	Sep 1880	1LT	Gardiner, J. de B.W.
Oct 1880	-	Feb 1881	A.A.S.	Minor, John F.
Mar 1881	-	Dec 1881	A.A.S.	Trenor, Eustace
Apr 1882	-		CPT	Gardiner, J. de B.W.
Dec 1883	-	Aug 1887	CPT	Brown, Paul R.
Sep 1887	-	Feb 1891	CPT & MAJ	Patzki, Julius H.
Feb 1891	-	May 1895	MAJ	Wilcox, Timothy E.
Jun 1895	-	Oct 1895	CPT	Johnson, Richard W.
Oct 1895	-	Mar 1898	CPT	Wakemen, William J.
Mar 1898	-	Jun 1898	MAJ	Gray, William W.
Jun 1899	-	Aug 1901	Contr. Surg.	Dixon, Arch
Feb 1903	-		Contr. Surg.	Watkins, Victor E.
Sep 1902	-	Sep 1904	CPT	Wimter, Francis A.
Oct 1904	-	Oct 1906	CPT	Webb, Walter D.
Oct 1906	-	Oct 1907	Contr. Surg.	Brewer, Isaac W.
Nov 1907	-	Feb 1909	CPT	Porter, Ralph S.
Mar 1909	-	Jun 1909	1LT	Baker, Cjaries S.
Jun 1909	-	Jan 1911	CPT	Howell, Park
Feb 1911	-	Jun 1911	CPT	Mabee, James I.
Jul 1911	-	Dec 1911	MAJ	Brownlee, Charles Y.
Jan 1912	-	Jun 1914	MAJ	O'Connor, R.P.
Jul 1914	-	Jun 1916	MAJ	Marrow, Charles E.
Jul 1916	-	Nov 1916	CPT	Warner, Benjamin J.
Jan 1917	-	Apr 1917	MAJ	Marrow, Charles E.
Sep 1917	-	Nov 1917	MAJ	Barber, John R.
Jan 1918	-	Feb 1918	CPT	Racer, Floyd H.
Mar 1918	-	Jul 1918	MAJ	McCown, Thomas B.
Aug 1918	-	Jul 1919	MAJ	Hayes, Daniel J.
Aug 1919	-	Apr 1920	MAJ	Hewitt, John E.
May 1920	-	Aug 1920	MAJ	Hogan, David D.
Sep 1920	-	Jun 1923	MAJ	Norvell, Bonaparte P.
Jan 1924	-	Apr 1926	MAJ	Baker, Willis P.
May 1926	-	Sep 1927	MAJ	Gutherie, W.G.
Jul 1928	-		CPT	Wolfe, R.C.
Aug 1928	-	May 1934	MAJ	Conner, H.L.
Jun 1934	-		MAJ	Villars, H.S.
Nov 1936	-		CPT	Lavery, H.B.

HOSPITAL COMMANDING OFFICERS 1878 - 1967

Aug 1937	- Apr 1940	LTC	Norris, S.R.
May 1940	- May 1941	LTC	Beringer, L.E.
Jun 1941	- Nov 1941	LTC	Cantrell, William B.
Jan 1942	- Oct 1945	COL	Maynard, E.B.
31 Jan 1946 Fort Huachuca was placed on inactive status			
Aug 1951	- Jul 1953	COL	Ward, Charles P.
Mar 1954	- Mar 1956	COL	Smith, Merle E.
Jun 1956	- Apr 1961	COL	Libasci, Alfonso M.
May 1961	- Aug 1961	LTC	Warren, Willard R.
Aug 1961	- Sep 1961	LTC	Eaves, Charles C.
Sep 1961	- Aug 1963	COL	Hornisher, Charles J.
Aug 1963	- May 1965	COL	Svare, Carroll S.
Jul 1965	- Jun 1967	LTC	Bradley, Robert J.
Jun 1967	- Jul 1967	LTC	MacGregor, Robert J.
Jul 1967	- Sep 1969	COL	Plum, John D.
Sep 1969	- Jun 1970	COL	Cox, William W.
Jun 1970	- Jun 1973	COL	Kaish, Kenneth R.
Jun 1973	- Aug 1975	COL	Canby, John P.
Aug 1975	- Present	COL	Dalton, James B.

MAJOR UNITS STATIONED AT FORT HUACHUCA

Elements of the following major units were stationed at Fort Huachuca on dates indicated. The first full regiment stationed at the post was the 24th Infantry in 1892.

YEAR	UNITS
1877	Co's B & M, 6th Cav. arrived 3 March. (In 1877, cavalry units were designated "companies.")
1878	6th Cav.
1879	6th Cav; 12th Inf.
1880	6th Cav; 12th Inf.
1881	1st, 3rd, 6th Cav; 12th Inf.
1882	1st, 3rd, 6th, 8th cav; 1st, 12th Inf.
1883	3rd, 7th, 8th Cav; 1st Inf.
1884	4th, 6th Cav; 1st Inf.
1885	4th Cav; 1st Inf.
1886	4th Cav; 1st, 8th Inf.
1887	4th Cav.
1888	4th Cav; 9th Inf.
1889	4th Cav; 9th Inf.
1890	2nd, 4th Cav; 9th Inf.
1891	2nd Cav; 9th, 11th Inf.
1892	2nd Cav; 11th, 24th Inf.
1893	Entire 24th Infantry Regiment
1894	2nd Cav; 24th Inf.
1895	2nd Cav; 24th Inf.
1896	1st, 2nd, 7th Cav; 15th, 24th Inf.
1897	1st, 7th Cav; 15th Inf.
1898	1st, 7th, 9th Cav; 15th, 22nd, 25th Inf.
1899	9th Cav; 25th Inf.
1900	5th, 9th Cav.
1901	5th, 7th Cav; 15th, 30th Inf.
1902	7th, 14th Cav; 15th Inf.
1903	4th, 5th, 14th Cav.
1904	4th, 5th, 14th Cav; 29th Inf.
1905-07	5th Cav.
1908	5th, 6th, 8th Cav.
1909	6th Cav.
1910	6th Cav; 18th Inf.

MAJOR UNITS STATIONED AT FORT HUACHUCA

YEAR	UNITS
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1911	1st, 6th, 12th Cav; 18th Inf.
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1912	4th, 6th, 9th Cav.
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1913	4th, 5th, 10th Cav; 11th Inf.
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1914-27	10th Cav.
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1928-31	10th Cav; 25th Inf.
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1932-42	25th Inf.
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1942	93rd Inf Div.
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1943	93rd Inf Div; 92nd Inf Div.
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1944	92nd Inf Div.
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1945	372nd Inf.
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1946-47	Caretaking Detachment 15 Sep 1947 - INACTIVATED 20 Apr 1951 - REACTIVATED
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1951	417th, 419th Engineer Aviation Brigades
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1952	45th, 304th, 923rd, 934th Engr Av Groups
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	30 Jun 1953 - INACTIVATED
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	1 Feb 1954 - REACTIVATED
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ACTIVATION OR ARRIVAL DATES SINCE 1954

1954	US Army Electronic Proving Grounds
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	1st Signal Group
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	505th Signal Group
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1960	US Army Security Agency Test & Evaluation Center
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1964	US Army Combat Surveillance School
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	1st Combat Support Training Brigade
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1966	US Army Electronic Warfare School
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	11th Signal Group
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1967	US Army Strategic Communications Command
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	Raymond W. Bliss Army Hospital
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1969	Safeguard Communications Agency
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1970	US Army Security Agency Training Center & School
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	US Army Communications-Electronics Engineering Installation Agency
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MAJOR UNITS STATIONED AT FORT HUACHUCA

YEAR	UNITS
1970	US Army Combat Surveillance & Electronic Warfare School
1971	US Army Intelligence Center & School

CHRONOLOGY

Chronology will not include assumption of command by post commanders or periods of service by military units at Fort Huachuca. This information has been provided in separate appendices.

1540	Summer	Coronado passes along San Pedro River Valley in search of Seven Lost Cities of Cibola.
1790		Spain places Indian tribes of northwestern frontier into Establecimientos de Paz.
1832	Dec 25	Ignacio Elias acquired San Ignacio del Babocomari Ranch.
1835		Sonoran Government Announces Proyecto de Guerra to deal with marauding Indians.
1845	Feb 2	U.S. bound by troublesome feature of Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
1853	Spring	Mexican Government files \$15 million in claims against U.S. Government for raids made by Apaches in Mexican territory.
	Dec 30	Under terms of Gadsden Purchase U.S. agrees to pay Mexico \$10 million for 45,535 square miles of land below the Gila, from Rio Grande to the Colorado.
1854	Apr 25	Gadsden Purchase ratified and signed by President Franklin Pierce.
1856	Mar 10	U.S. Army places four companies of Dragoons in Tucson.
1857	Dec 8	President Buchanan recommends to Congress that Arizona be made a territory. Congress rejects suggestion.
1861	Feb 4	Lt. George Nicholas Bascom attempts to arrest Apache Chief Cochise at Siphon Canyon. Fails, but "triggers" Apache Wars lasting quarter of a century.
	July 10	Fort Breckinridge abandoned.
	July 23	Fort Buchanan burned and abandoned.
1862	July 20	Troops from 1st and 2nd Cavalry establish military post at Tubac.
1863	Feb 24	Arizona attains territorial status.
1865	Feb 4	Arizona transferred from U.S. Army Department of New Mexico to Department of California.
1866	July 28	Army Reorganization Act creates new regiments of cavalry, artillery and infantry, two cavalry and four infantry regiments to have only black men in enlisted ranks. 9th and 10th Cavalry activated; 38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantry Regiments authorized.
	Aug 1	Congressional Act authorized organization of Indian Scouts for use by U.S. Army.
	Nov 23	38th, 39th, 40th, and 41st Infantry Regiments activated.

1867	Aug 2	Co. F, 10th Cavalry engages band of 300 Cheyenne near Fort Harp, Saline River, Kansas.
	Aug 10	Fort Crittenden established.
	Aug 21	Capt. George A. Armes with F Co. and contingent of 18th Kansas Volunteers engages 1000 Indians in Kansas.
	Aug 29	U.S. Army garrison stationed at Military Plaza, Tucson. Is named Camp Lowell.
1869	Mar 3	Congress passes Act reducing regular army infantry regiments from 45 to 25, reduction to be accomplished by consolidation of infantry regiments in service.
	Apr 20	25th Infantry organized, consolidating 39th and 40th Infantry Regiments.
	Oct 9	Apaches attack army detachment near Apache Pass. Six soldiers wounded.
1869	Nov 1	24th Infantry organized, consolidating 38th and 41st Infantry Regiments.
1870	Aug 7	Indian attacks escalate. Ten settlers killed in 10 days.
1871	Apr 30	Citizen vigilantes of Tucson participate in Camp Grant Massacre.
	May 5	Lt. Howard Bass Cushing killed by Apaches near Mustang Mountains, two miles north of old Camp Wallen.
1872	Sept 22	Col. George Crook files report to Department of the Pacific listing over 150 cases of Indian depredations by Apache Indians between Sept. 1871 and Sept. 1872.
1873	Mar 19	Camp Lowell moved from Tucson to permanent quarters on the Rillito. Renamed Fort Lowell. Post was abandoned on April 10, 1891 .
	May 29	5th U.S. Cavalry establishes camp on San Carlos near junction with Gila. Becomes San Carlos Agency.
1874	Jan-Feb	Numerous Apache raids in Arizona.
	June 8	Cochise dies. Buried secretly in Dragoon Mountains.
1876	Apr 10	Chiricahua Apaches kill two men at Sulphur Springs, murder a San Pedro River rancher.
	June 11	Chiricahua Apaches moved to permanent reservation at San Carlos.
	July 14	Chiricahua Apaches kill two prospectors near Fort Bowie.
	Aug 12	Camp Thomas activated.
1877	Feb 12	Col. A.V. Kautz orders Capt. Samuel M. Whitside to select site for new outpost in vicinity of Huachuca Mountains.
	Mar 2	Capt. Whitside and Capt. Rafferty camp at ruins of old Camp Wallen.
	Mar 3	Capt. Whitside selects site for new post at mouth of Huachuca Canyon. Calls place Camp Huachuca.

1877	Aug 18	Lt. Robert Hanna, takes D Co., Indian scouts, and elements of B and M companies, 6th Cavalry, out of Huachuca on an Apache campaign.
	Aug 25	Lt. Hanna joined by Lt. Anthony Rucker, leading H and L companies, 6th Cavalry, and C Co., Hualpai scouts.
	Sept 3	Capt. Whitside writes gloomy report on Fort Huachuca.
	Sept 8	Lt. Hanna's scouts engage Apache renegades in battle.
	Nov	"Soapsuds Row" established at Fort Huachuca.
	Dec 22	Pvt. Thomas P. Kelly is first soldier to die at Camp Huachuca. Buried in post cemetery.
1879	Apr	Capt. Whitside builds sawmill near mouth of Huachuca Canyon.
	Sept	First permanent structure commenced at Fort Huachuca.
1880	Mar 20	Southern Pacific Railroad comes to Tucson.
	Apr 25	First permanent structure completed at Camp Huachuca. Becomes six-bed hospital.
1881	Mar 28	Capt. S.M. Whitside leaves Fort Huachuca for duty on the eastern seaboard.
	Sept 19	Mass citizen meeting in Tucson passes resolution to evict all Apaches from area.
	Nov	Frederick Austin becomes first postmaster at Fort Huachuca.
1882	Feb 9	Camp Huachuca renamed Fort Huachuca.
	May 3	President Chester A. Arthur threatens to place Arizona territory under martial law unless territory abandons its lawless ways.
	Spring	Gen. Crook establishes Companies A, B, C, D, and E Indian scouts for use in Apache Campaigns.
1883	Mar	Chato and 26 Apache braves raid charcoal camp at Canelo, near Fort Huachuca.
	Spring	Boundaries of Fort Huachuca expanded.
	Aug 17	Foundations laid for 11 sets of officer's quarters at Fort Huachuca.
1884	Apr	Twenty four-bed hospital building begun to replace one six-bed infirmary.
1885	Jan	New hospital completed.
	May 14	Geronimo and other Apache braves stage tiswin orgy on Apache reservation. Admonished by Lt. Britton Davis.
	May 17	Geronimo with 32 warriors and 100 women and children flee reservation.
1886	Jan 10	Capt. Emmett Crawford comes upon Apache renegades on Rio Aros, Sonora.
	Jan 11	Capt. Crawford shot by Mexican soldier in scrape with Mexican troops.

1886	Jan 17	Capt. Crawford dies of gun shot wound.
	Mar 25	Gen. Crook meets with Geronimo and braves at Canyon de los Embudos.
	Mar 27	Crook and Geronimo hold second conference at Canyon de los Embudos.
	Mar 28	(Dawn) Geronimo and band flee from camp at Canyon de los Embudos.
	Mar 31	Lt. Gen. Sheridan admonishes Crook for letting Geronimo escape.
	Apr 1	Crook asks to be reassigned.
	Apr 12	Brig. Gen. Nelson A. Miles arrives at Bowie Station, proceeds to Fort Bowie and relieves Gen. Crook.
	Apr 20	General Order Nr. 7 issued at Fort Bowie listing parameters of Capt. Henry Ware Lawton's expeditionary assignment.
	Apr 21	Gen. Miles orders Capt. Joseph H. Dorst to take K Co., 4th Cavalry, out of Fort Huachuca on an Indian scout.
	Apr 27	Geronimo recrosses border, makes hit-and-run raid in southeastern Arizona.
	May 2	Col. W.B. Royall asks Gen. Miles to supply Capt. Lawton with 2,000 pounds of bacon.
	May 3	Capt. T.C. Lebo, 10th Cavalry, overtakes portion of Geronimo's band in Pinito Mountains, northern Sonora.
	May 3	Gen. Miles appoints Lieutenants Alonzo M. Fuller and Edward E. Dravo as heliograph officers for Apache Campaign.
	May 5	Capt. H.W. Lawton (and Capt. Leonard Wood) stage out of Fort Huachuca on Geronimo Campaign.
	May 7	Capt. T.C. Lebo reports to Col. Royall on pursuit of Apaches between Imuris and Cananea, Sonora.
	May 13	Capt. Lawton makes first report to Gen. Miles. (From Imuris).
	May 15	Capt. C.A.P. Hatfield surprises Apaches in camp south of Santa Cruz, Sonora.
	May 16	Gen. Miles orders Col. Royall to send Fort Huachuca troops out after Apaches seen just south of the post (in Sonora).
	May 20	Col. E.B. Beaumont reports on renegades seen in Dragoon Mountains.
	June 2	Lt. Col. George A. Forsyth reports on scout of Capt. McAdams between Huachuca and Nogales.
	June 5	Lt. Fuller reports to Capt. William A. Thompson, Acting Assistant Adjutant General (AAAG) at Fort Bowie, on installation of heliograph stations.
	June 7	Col. Royall reports to Gen. Miles on Capt. Lawton's presence at Ojo de Agua, Sonora.

- 1886 June 13 Capt. Hatfield issues special report on fight with Apaches near Santa Cruz.
- June 15 Lt. Fuller makes lengthy report to Capt. Thompson on heliograph operations.
- June 17 Capt. Thompson, AAAG, contacts 8th Infantry at Fort Huachuca concerning availability of heliograph operators.
- June 20 Capt. Lawton reports to Gen. Miles from Turicachi on the Nacozari River.
- June 29 Col. Royall sends Lt. Guy Evans Huse, 4th Cavalry, with 15 men and provisions to give relief to Lawton at Turicachi.
- July 6 Lawton strikes out for Oposura and Tepachi.
- July 13 Lawton's scouts locate Geronimo's camp on the Yaqui River.
- Aug 7 Lt. Charles Baehr Gatewood joins Lawton in camp on Rio Aros.
- Aug 13 Geronimo arrives at Rancho de Cuchuta; confers with Mexican officials on the following day.
- Aug 15 Geronimo meets with Mexican officials in Fronteras. Lawton and Gatewood hasten to Fronteras, Geronimo gone. They find Lt. Wilber E. Wilder there.
- Aug 17 Two of Geronimo's squaws, Cruz and Felicitas, come into Fronteras to bring message, buy provisions.
- Aug 18 Lt. Col. Forsyth leaves Fort Huachuca with Troops A and E, 4th Cavalry.
- Aug 19 Prefect of Arispe moves into Cuchuta with 100 men. Simultaneously, parties under Mexican Captains Jose Figueroa and Vicente Silva converge upon Cuchuta and Fronteras.
- Aug 21 Gen. Miles informs Col. Beaumont that Lawton must apprehend Geronimo at all costs.
- Aug 24 Mexican officials offer surrender terms to Geronimo in writing. He refuses.
- Aug 25 Lt. C.B. Gatewood, in the company of his Scouts Martine and Kieta, meets with Geronimo on the banks of the Bavispe River.
- Aug 26 Gatewood and Geronimo hold second conference.
- Aug 27 Gatewood and Geronimo have final session. Geronimo agrees to surrender to Gen. Miles.
- Aug 28 Miles contacts Acting Secretary of War concerning disposition of Apache prisoners.
- Sept 3 Geronimo surrenders to Miles at Skeleton Canyon.
- Sept 5 Miles departs Skeleton Canyon for Fort Bowie.
- Sept 8 Geronimo and party leave Bowie Station by train for exile in Florida.

1886	Sept 25	Miles requests permission to report to President Cleveland in person on Apache prisoner issue. He is refused.
	Oct 19	Secretary of War, William Endicott, orders Gen. Sheridan to remove all Apache prisoners from San Antonio, Texas, to designated places of exile in Florida.
1887	May 3	Large earthquake rocks Fort Huachuca area.
	June 1	Apache Kid, at San Carlos, shoots Scout Al Sieber in the foot. Escapes.
	Nov 8	Gen. Miles visits Tucson. Is presented with a jewel-hilted ceremonial sword by a grateful citizenry.
	Dec 27	Apache Kid tried, along with four other renegades, for depredations committed throughout Arizona.
1889	May 11	Bandits ambush Maj. J.W. Wham and military escort carrying army payroll near Fort Thomas. Get \$26,000. Eight soldiers wounded.
	Sept	Military Department of Arizona reduced to 57 troops and companies of the line, and three companies of Indian scouts.
	Sept 1	Col. Benjamin H. Grierson suggests destruction of six Arizona army posts.
	Nov 2	Apache Kid shoots and kills Sheriff Glenn Reynolds near Riverside, Arizona. Deputy Sheriff "Hunky-Dory" Holmes dies of heart attack in excitement of fray.
	Dec 14	Tucson jury acquits all defendants in the Wham payroll robbery case.
1890	Feb 9	Arizona citizens alarmed at Gen. Crook's suggestion of moving Apache prisoners from Florida to reservations in Indian Territory.
	Oct 20	Gen. Miles recommends that abandoned Arizona military posts be used as schools for Indian children.
1896	Apr	Lt. Edwin Bullock leaves Fort Huachuca with troop of 7th Cavalry for scout against Indian menacing the area.
	June	Capt. Peter S. Bomus leads Troops A and F, 7th Cavalry, on scout after Apaches.
	Aug 12	Col. John Mosby Bacon takes Companies C and H, 24th Infantry out of Huachuca to run down Yaqui Indians around Harshaw and Nogales.
1902	Jan 4	William Cornell Greene's Consolidated Copper Company completed railroad between Cananea and Naco.
	Mar	Maj. Charles Mallon O'Conner initiates plan to start school for Fort Huachuca soldiers. No takers.
1906	June 1	Disgruntled miners riot in Cananea, threaten American lives and property. Maj. Charles Henry Watts moves squadron of 5th Cavalry from Huachuca to Naco. Does not cross border.

1906	June 2	Cananea riot quelled by Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky and his Sonoran Rurales.
1909	Feb 17	Geronimo, the man who terrorized the Southwest, dies peacefully in captivity at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.
	May 26	A Tucson court dismisses a 22 year old murder indictment against Geronimo.
	Oct 31	Citizens of Arizona make effort to move Fort Huachuca to place midway between Bisbee and Douglas. Move fails.
1911		Restaurant owner Sam Kee pays off U.S. troops when Congress fails to appropriate money for FY 1912. "Old-timers" differ as to just when in 1911 this episode occurred.
	Apr 18	Mexican federal and rebel troops fight in streets of Agua Prieta, showering bullets into Douglas. Troops at Fort Huachuca are alerted.
1912	Feb 14	Arizona becomes the 48th state in the union.
1913	Feb 9-19	The "Tragic Ten Days" in Mexico. Wild revolution with people gunned down in the streets of the capitol.
	Feb 19	Gen. Victoriano Huerta becomes President of Mexico.
	Feb 20	Huerta causes murder of Gustavo Madero.
	Feb 22	Francisco Madero assassinated.
	Mar 9-13	Gen. Pedro Ojeda and Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky exchange messages on coming battle with forces of Alvaro Obregon.
	Mar 12	Troops G and A, 5th U.S. Cavalry, arrive in Nogales from Fort Huachuca to maintain law and order on the American side.
	Mar 13	Battle of Nogales. Obregon defeats Kosterlitzky and Lt. Col. Reyes. Federal forces cross line into Arizona, surrender to Capt. Cornelius C. Smith, commanding G Troop, 5th Cavalry.
	Mar 12-17	Gen. Pedro Ojeda battles rebel forces in Naco. Five-day battle. Heavy losses on both sides.
1914	Jul 25	Huerta flees Mexico City.
1915	Mar	Business houses all over Mexico close their doors. Economy paralyzed.
	Sept	Mexican bandits raid across border along Rio Grande Valley: Brownsville, Las Paladas, Red House Ferry, and other places.
	Oct 15	U.S. Government gives de facto recognition to administration of Venustiano Carranza.
1916	Jan 10	Americans murdered by Villista soldiers near Cusiuhiriachic, Chihuahua.

1916	Mar 9	Francisco ("Pancho") Villa raids Columbus, New Mexico.
	Mar 9	Maj. Frank Tompkins pursues Villistas into Mexico, killing 75 and wounding many others.
	Mar 9	Secretary of War Newton D. Baker orders Maj. Gen. Frederick Funston to organize Punitive Expedition into Mexico under Brig. Gen. John J. Pershing.
	Mar 9	Col. William C. Brown, Fort Huachuca, learns of raid. Readies 10th U.S. Cavalry for immediate move.
	Mar 9	(4 p.m.) All of 10th Cavalry, save Troops L, M and Band, leave Fort Huachuca for rendezvous point, Culberson's Ranch, N.M.
	Mar 14	Pershing organizes Punitive Expedition at Culberson's Ranch. Names Col. DeRosy Cabell Chief of Staff.
	Mar 16	Punitive Expedition crosses International Line into Mexico.
	Mar 17	Expedition reaches Colonia Dublan, Chihuahua. Tenth Cavalry organized in two squadrons.
	Mar 19	Col. Brown and Maj. Elwood Evans leave Colonia Dublan for El Rucio.
	Mar 21	Maj. Evans heads for Las Varas. Train overturns injuring several 10th Cavalry soldiers.
	Mar 22	Maj. Evans detains at Las Varas. Meets with Col. Maximiliano Marquez, Carranzista officer.
	Mar 23	Maj. Evans takes Troops A, B, C and D to Babicora.
	Mar 27	Brown and Evans leave El Oso for Santa Catalina.
	Mar 28	Col. Brown finds Villista officer Valentin Avitia near Quemada. Avitia escapes.
	Mar 28	Squadrons split. Brown goes to La Quemada, Evans to Tepehanes.
	Apr 1	Brown's troops clash with Villistas near Aguas Calientes.
	Apr 4	Carranzista general warns Brown that further advance southward by U.S. troops will be considered as an unfriendly act by Mexican Government.
	Apr 13	Brown, at Sapien, learns of clash between Maj. Frank Tompkins and Villistas near Parral.
	Apr 14	Brown raises stars and strips over Santa Cruz de Villegas. Announces no withdrawal of U.S. troops until or unless U.S. Government orders it.
	June 16	Gen. J.B. Trevino warns Pershing to make no further moves to south, east, or west.
	June 16	Pershing answers saying he takes orders only from his own government.
	June 16	International Peace Conference held at New London, Connecticut.

1916	June 17	Pershing warned by Secretary of War, Newton A. Baker, to pursue only Villistas, not Carranzistas.
	June 21	Troop C, 10th Cavalry, clashes with Carranzistas at Carrizal. Capt. Boyd and Lt. Adair killed, also several enlisted soldiers. Some taken prisoner.
1917	Feb 5	Punitive Expedition returns to U.S.
	Apr 6	U.S. declares war upon European Central Powers.
	Apr-June	800 recruits join 10th Cavalry at Fort Huachuca.
1918	Jan 9	Capt. Frederick Ryder, 10th Cavalry, leading E Troop, jumped by Yaqui Indians in Atasco Canyon, Bear Valley, west of Nogales.
	Aug 27	Battle of Ambos Nogales.
1920	May 20	Buffalo Bulletin makes first appearance at Fort Huachuca.
1922	Oct 4	President Harding signs Executive Decree characterizing Fort Apache as "useless for military purposes." Indian scouts will move to Fort Huachuca.
1924	Mar	Col. James Cooper Rhea estimates Fort Huachuca has a "saleable value" of \$325,000.
1928	Mar	Third Battalion, 25th Infantry comes to Fort Huachuca.
1933	Jan	Second Battalion, 25th Infantry comes to Fort Huachuca from Camp Little; First Battalion comes to post from Camp Harry J. Jones, Douglas.
	July	Adobe huts built for Apache scouts. Scouts and families "lukewarm" about moving in. Prefer their own wickiups near post cemetery.
1938	July 11	Ground broken for "Million Dollar Barracks" at Fort Huachuca.
1941	Mar	Cadres withdrawn from 25th Infantry to form and train 368th Infantry at Huachuca.
	May	New hospital completed to accomodate influx of soldiers during period of European "Phony War."
	Dec 7	Japanese attack Pearl Harbor.
1942	May 15	93rd Infantry Division reactivated at Fort Huachuca.
	Sept 12	"Myrtle" the mule dies at Fort Huachuca. A much decorated and beloved mascot, she was on Punitive Expedition into Mexico, was 34 years old at death.
	Nov 6	Pvt. James Rowe, murderer, executed by hanging at Fort Huachuca.
	Nov 23	First WAAC arrives at Fort Huachuca.
1943	Jan 19	SSgt. Jerry Sykes, murderer, executed by hanging at Fort Huachuca.
	Apr 13	Selected military units from all over U.S. are ordered to Fort Huachuca to form 92nd Infantry Division.
	May 11	All 93rd Infantry Division units in place at Fort Huachuca.

1943	July 18	Andrew ("Rube") Foster Field dedicated at Fort Huachuca by Col. Edwin N. Hardy.
	Aug 23	Lena Horne dedicates post theater number 5 with personal appearance and showing of "Stormy Weather."
	Dec	92nd Division begins "D" exercises in countryside around Fort Huachuca.
1944	Jan 29	Advance echelon, 93rd Division, arrives at Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands.
	Jan	92nd Division goes to Louisiana for maneuvers.
	Mar 21	Combat units of 93rd Division attached American Division Bougainville, Solomon Islands.
	Apr 7-12	25th Regimental Combat Team (RCT) reconnoiters Laruma River and Torokina Valley.
	June 15	370th RCT, 92nd Division leaves Fort Huachuca for duty in European Theater.
	July 8	370th RCT in combat, Italy.
	Nov	372nd Infantry Regiment joins 92nd Division.
1945	Feb	92nd Division attacks Monte Canale, near Massa, Italy. Suffers heavy losses.
	Apr 1	370th RCT attacks along Ligurian Coast, takes over Serchio Sector.
	Apr-Oct	93rd Division occupies Morotai.
	Apr 27	Elements of 92nd Division enter La Spezia and Genoa.
	Nov 16	92nd Division leaves Europe. Sails for U.S.
	Nov 28	92nd Division deactivated at Camp Kilmer.
1946	Jan 17	93rd Division sails for U.S. from Leyte, P.I.
1947	Sept 15	Fort Huachuca deactivated.
	Sept 30	Apache scouts deactivated.
1951	Apr 20	Fort Huachuca reactivated.
1953	June 30	Fort Huachuca deactivated.
1954	Feb 1	Fort Huachuca reactivated. United States Army Electronic Proving Ground (USAEPG) established as Signal Corps activity.
	May	First Signal Group arrives in Fort Huachuca.
	July	505th Signal Group arrives in Fort Huachuca.
1960		U.S. Army Security Agency Test and Evaluation Center (USASETEC) comes to Fort Huachuca.
1964		U.S. Army Combat Surveillance and Target Acquisition Training Command (USASTATC) organized at Fort Huachuca.
	Mar 1	Strategic Communications Command (STRATCOM) established as a major command, U.S. Army.
	Jul 1	STRATCOM-Europe, subcommand established near Heidelberg, Germany.

1964	Nov 3	Organization of Joint Support Command at Fort Ritchie, Maryland.
1965	July 2	Ground broken for Raymond W. Bliss Hospital, Fort Huachuca.
	Aug 30	STRATCOM-South activated at Fort Clayton, Canal Zone.
	Oct 1	STRATCOM-Pacific activated in Hawaii.
1966		11th Signal Group comes to Fort Huachuca from Fort Lewis, Washington.
		U.S. Army Electronic Warfare School (USAEWS) comes to Fort Huachuca.
	Apr 1	First Signal Brigade, STRATCOM activated in Vietnam.
	Aug 21	First Automatic Digital Network (AUTODIN) switch begins operation at Fort Detrick, Maryland.
1967	Mar 1	U.S. Army Communications Systems Agency established at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey.
	Apr 1	STRATCOM-Alaska subcommand established at Fort Richardson, Alaska.
	Apr 15	STRATCOM Headquarters relocates in Fort Huachuca.
	July 28	Raymond W. Bliss Hospital dedicated at Fort Huachuca.
	Nov 1	STRATCOM Signal Group established at Ent Air Force Base, Colorado Springs.
1969	June 16	Safeguard Communications Agency (SAFCA) inaugurated at Fort Huachuca.
1970		U.S. Army Communications-Electronics Engineering Installation Agency (CEEIA) comes to Fort Huachuca.
		U.S. Army Combat Surveillance and Electronic Warfare School comes to Fort Huachuca.
1971		U.S. Army Intelligence Center and School (USAICS) comes to Fort Huachuca from Fort Holabird, Maryland.
		Social Center complex completed at Fort Huachuca: Kino Chapel, Post Exchange, Cochise Theater, Post Office, First National Bank of Arizona Building.
1973	Jan 22	40th Signal Battalion activated at Fort Huachuca.
	Mar 9	USAICS conducts first Basic Officer's Training Course at Fort Huachuca.
	Nov 18	Smith School dedicated at Fort Huachuca.
1974		Acronym STRATCOM replaced by U.S. Army Communications Command (USACC).
	Nov	U.S. Army Commercial Communications Office (USARCCO) established at Fort Huachuca.
1975	Feb 2	U.S. Army Communications Management Information Systems Activity (USACOMISA) established at Fort Huachuca.

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| 1975 | June 12-14 | Fort Huachuca stages reunion in honor of U.S. Army's 200th Birthday, Huachuca veterans of five wars return. |
| | July 1 | Safeguard Communications Agency (SAFCA) realigned and redesignated as Ballistic Missile Defense Communications Agency (BMDCA). |

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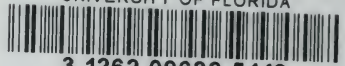
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